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FOR ENGLISH LITERATURE

THE  
**POETICAL WORKS**

OF

**JOHN MILTON,**

**WITH NOTES OF VARIOUS AUTHORS.**





THE  
**POETICAL WORKS**

OF  
**JOHN MILTON,**

**WITH NOTES OF VARIOUS AUTHORS,**

Principally from the Editions of

THOMAS NEWTON, D.D. CHARLES DUNSTER, M.A.  
AND THOMAS WARTON, B.D.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

**NEWTON'S LIFE OF MILTON.**

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**By EDWARD HAWKINS, M.A.**

FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE.

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**VOL. IV.**

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**A MASK,**

**PRESENTED AT LUDLOW CASTLE, 1634,**

**BEFORE**

**THE EARL OF BRIDGEWATER,**

**THEN PRESIDENT OF WALES.**

## THE PERSONS.

THE ATTENDANT SPIRIT, afterwards in the habit of  
THYRSIS.

COMUS with his Crew.

THE LADY.

FIRST BROTHER.

SECOND BROTHER.

SABRINA the Nymph.

*The chief persons who presented were,*

THE LORD BRACKLY.

MR. THOMAS EGERTON, his brother.

THE LADY ALICE EGERTON.

THE Mask was presented in 1634, and consequently in the twenty-sixth year of our author's age. In the title page of the first edition, printed in 1637, it is said, that it was presented on *Michaelmas night*, and there was this motto,

Eheu quid volui misero mihi! floribus austrum  
Perditus\*.

In this edition, and in that of Milton's poems in 1645, there was prefixed to the Mask the following dedication.

*To the Right Honourable John Lord Viscount Brackly, son and  
heir apparent to the Earl of Bridgewater, &c.*

MY LORD,

THIS poem, which received its first occasion of birth from yourself and others of your noble family<sup>b</sup>, and much honour from your own person in the performance, now returns again to make a final dedication of itself to you. Although not openly acknowledged by the author<sup>c</sup>, yet it is a legitimate offspring, so lovely, and so much desired, that the often copying of it hath tired my pen to give my several friends satisfaction, and brought me to a necessity of producing it to the public view; and now to offer it up in all rightful devotion to

\* This motto, from Virgil's second Eclogue, is delicately chosen, whether we consider it as spoken by the author himself, or by the editor. If by the former it appears to mean, "I have, by giving way to this publication, let in the breath of public censure on these early blossoms of my poetry, which were before secure in the hands of my friends, as in a private

"inclosure." If by the editor, the application is not very different: only to *floribus* we must then give an encomiastic sense. The choice of such a motto, so far from vulgar in itself, and in its application, was worthy Milton. *Hurd.*

<sup>b</sup> See note on *Comus*, 34.

<sup>c</sup> It never appeared under Milton's name till the year 1645. *T. Warton.*

those fair hopes, and rare endowments of your much promising youth, which give a full assurance, to all that know you, of a future excellence. Live, sweet Lord, to be the honour of your name, and receive this as your own, from the hands of him, who hath by many favours been long obliged to your most honoured parents, and as in this representation your attendant Thyrsis, so now in all real expression

Your faithful and most humble Servant,

H. LAWES<sup>d</sup>.

In the edition of 1645 was also prefixed Sir Henry Wotton's letter to the author upon the following poem: but as we have inserted it in the *Life of Milton*, there is no occasion to repeat it here.

<sup>d</sup> This Dedication from Lawes's edition, does not appear in the edition of Milton's Poems, printed under his own inspection, 1673; when Lord Brackly, under the title of Earl of Bridgewater, was still living. Milton was perhaps unwilling to own his early connections with a family, conspicuous for its unshaken loyalty, and now highly patronised by K. Charles II. *T. Warton.*

## PRELIMINARY NOTES.

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### LUDLOW CASTLE.

SOME idea of this venerable and magnificent pile, in which *Comus* was played with great splendour, in 1634, at a period when Masques were the most fashionable entertainment of our nobility, will probably gratify those, who read Milton with that curiosity which results from taste and imagination.

It was founded on a ridge of rock overlooking the river Corve, by Roger Montgomery, about the year 1112, in the reign of King Henry the First. But without entering into its more obscure and early annals, I will rather exhibit the state and condition in which it might be supposed to subsist, when Milton's drama was performed. Thomas Churchyard, in an old poem called the *Worthines of Wales*, printed in 1578, has a chapter entitled "The Castle of "Ludloe." In one of the state apartments, he mentions a superb escutcheon in stone of the arms of Prince Arthur, son of Henry the Seventh: and an empalement of Saint Andrew's cross with Prince Arthur's arms, painted in the windows of the great hall. And in the hall and chambers, he says, there was a variety of rich workmanship, suitable to so magnificent a castle. "In it is a chapel," he adds, "most trim and costly, so bravely wrought, so fayre and "finely framed, &c." About the walls of this chapel were sumptuously painted, "a great device, a worke most rich and rare," the arms of many of the kings of England, and of the lords of the castle, from Sir Walter Lacie, the first lord, &c. "The armes of "all these afore spoken of, are gallantly and cunningly sett out in "that chapell.—Now is to be rehearsed, that Sir Harry Sidney, "being Lord President, buylt twelve roomes in the sayd castle, "which goodly buildings doth shewe a great beautie to the same. "He made also a goodly wardrobe underneath the new parlor, and "repayred an old tower called Mortymer's tower, to kepe the auncient recordes in the same; and he repayred a fayre roume under "the court-house, and made a great wall about the wood-yard, "and built a most brave conduit within the inner court: and all

" the newe buildings over the gate, Sir Harry Sidney, in his dayes  
 " and government there, made and set out, to the honour of the  
 " Queene, and the glorie of the castle. There are in a goodly or  
 " stately place, my Lorde Earl of Warwick's arms, [of] the Earl  
 " of Derby, the Earl of Worcester, the Earl of Pembroke, and  
 " Sir Harry Sidney's armes in like manner: al these stand on the  
 " left side of the [great] chamber. On the other side are the  
 " armes of Northwales and Southwales, two red lyons and two  
 " golden lyons [for] Prince Arthur. At the end of the dyning  
 " chamber, there is a pretty device, how the hedge-hog broke his  
 " chayne and came from Ireland to Ludloe. There is in the hall  
 " a great grate of iron [a portecullis], of a huge height." fol. 79.  
 This once belonged to the grand portal of the castle. In the  
 hall, or in one of the great chambers, *Comus* was acted. We are  
 told by David Powell, the Welch historian, that Sir Henry Sidney,  
 Knight, made Lord President of Wales in 1564, " repaired the  
 " castle of Ludlowe, which is the cheefest house within the  
 " Marches, being in great decaye, as the chapell, the court-house,  
 " and a faire fountaine, &c. Also he erected divers new buildings  
 " within the said castell, &c." *Hist. of Cambria*, edit. 1580. 4to.  
 p. 401. In this castle, the creation of Prince Charles to the Prin-  
 cipality of Wales, and Earldom of Chester, afterwards King Charles  
 the First, was kept as a festival, and solemnized with uncommon  
 magnificence, in the year 1616. See a Narrative entitled "The  
 " Love of Wales to their Sovereigne Prince, &c." Lond. 1616.  
 4to. Many of the exterior towers still remain. But the royall  
 apartments, and other rooms of state, are abandoned, defaced, and  
 lie exposed to the weather. It was an extensive and well-wrought  
 fabric. Over the stable-doors are still the arms of Queen Eliza-  
 beth, Lord Pembroke, &c. Frequent tokens of ancient pomp peep  
 out from amidst the rubbish of the mouldering fragments. Prince  
 Arthur, above mentioned, died in 1502, after his short cohabitation  
 with his wife, the Princess Catharine of Spain, at this castle, which  
 was the palace of the Prince of Wales, appendant to his Prin-  
 cipality. It was constantly inhabited by his deputies, styled the  
 Lord Presidents of Wales, till the principality-court, a separate  
 jurisdiction, was abolished by King William. Its buildings, to-  
 gether with the town of Ludlow, were represented in one of the  
 scenes of the Mask. See after, v. 957. With whatever feats of  
 chivalry it might have been anciently ennobled, the representation  
 of *Comus* in this stately fortress, will ever be mentioned as one of  
 the most memorable and honourable circumstances in the course  
 of its history. *T. Warton.*



## JOHN EARL OF BRIDGEWATER, AND HIS FAMILY.

SIR JOHN EGERTON, second son of Thomas Lord Chancellor Egerton, Knight of the Bath, Baron of Elmsmere, Earl of Bridgewater, and Lord President of Wales, before whom *Comus* was presented at Ludlow Castle in 1634, married Frances, second daughter of Ferdinando Earl of Derby. And thus it was for the same family that Milton wrote both *Arcades* and *Comus*: for Alice, the Countess dowager of Derby, before whom *Arcades* was presented, was mother to Frances Lady Bridgewater; and the third wife of Lord John Bridgewater's father, Lord Chancellor Egerton, but without issue. See *Dugd. Baron.* vol. ii. pp. 414, 415. 250, 251. Our Earl John was appointed to the Presidency of Wales by King Charles the First at Theobald's, May 12, 1633. *Rym. Fœd.* xix. 449. He died in 1649; his lady in 1635. See note on *Com.* v. 34.

They had issue, four sons and eleven daughters. JOHN Lord Viscount Brackley, the third son, who performed the part of the first Brother in *Comus*, succeeded to his father's inheritable titles, and was at length of the Privy Council to King Charles the Second. He died October 26, aged sixty-four, in 1686. He was therefore only twelve years old when he acted in *Comus*. And his brother THOMAS, who played the Second Brother, was still younger. Hence in the dialogue between *Comus* and the Lady, v. 289.

*Com.* Were they of manly prime, or youthful bloom?

*Lad.* As smooth as Hebe's their unrazor'd lips.

Where see the note. Chauncy, the historian of Hertfordshire, who was well acquainted with this young John Lord Brackley when a man, says that he was a nobleman of the most valuable and amiable qualities: "he was of a middling stature, with black hair, a round visage, a modest and grave aspect, a sweet and pleasant countenance, and comely presence. He was a learned man, and delighted much in his library." *Hist. Hertf.* p. 554. This account of his person perfectly corresponds with Milton's description of his beauty and deportment while a boy: and the panegyric, we may suppose, was as justly due to his brother Thomas, *Com.* 298.

Their port was more than human, as they stood:

I took it for a fairy vision, &c.

Again, the Lady requests Echo, v. 236.

Canst thou not tell me of a gentle pair,

That likest thy Narcissus are?

And hence the expressions in Henry Lawes's dedication of *Comus* to Lord John, in his edition 1637, written when he was now three years older, that is about fifteen: in which Lawes mentions "the faire hopes and rare endowments of your much-promising youth, &c." This young nobleman married at nineteen, 1642, Elizabeth, daughter of William Duke of Newcastle; who died in 1663, leaving a numerous issue. She was a most amiable character: and the

Earl her husband ordered it to be recorded on his tomb in Gadesden church, that "he enjoyed almost twenty-two years all the "happiness a man could receive in the sweet society of the best of "wives." Till his death he was inconsolable for her loss. In the Newcastle Book on Horsemanship, there is a print of this John Earl of Bridgewater, (the *First Brother in Comus*), and his Countess Elizabeth, grouped with other figures. There is also a large mezzotinto print in quarto of this Earl, done in 1680, from a portrait by William Claret, an imitator of Lely, which I believe is at Ashridge.

Mr. THOMAS Egerton, above mentioned, who performed the part of the *Second Brother* in our drama, was a fourth son of the old Earl John, and died unmarried at twenty-three.

The Lady ALICE Egerton, probably so named from her grandmother in law the Countess Dowager of Derby, who acted the *Lady* in *Comus*, was the eleventh daughter, and could not now have been more than thirteen years old. She was taught music by Henry Lawes. She became the third Countess of Richard Lord Vaughan, of Emlyn, and Earl of Carbury, who lived at Golden Grove in Carmarthenshire, and by whom she had no issue, about 1653. See *Dugd. Baron*, vol. ii. 470. In Henry Lawes's "*Select Ayres and Dialogues for the Theorbo, &c.*" published 1669, there is a song addressed to this Lady from her husband, called the *Earl to the Countess of Carbury*. I will cite the two last stanzas, which are excellent in the affected and witty style of the times.

When first I view'd thee, I did spy  
Thy soul stand beckoning in thine eye;  
My heart knew what it meant,  
And at its first kiss went;  
Two balls of wax so run,  
When melted into one:  
Mix'd now with thine my heart now lies,  
As much love's riddle as thy prize.

For since I can't pretend to have  
That heart which I so freely gave,  
Yet now 'tis mine the more,  
Because 'tis thine, than 'twas before,  
Death will unriddle this;  
For when thou'rt call'd to bliss,  
He needs not throw at me his dart,  
'Cause piercing thine he kills my heart.

This Lady Alice must not be confounded with Lord Carbury's second Countess, Frances, who died Oct. 9, 1650: and to whom there is a funeral sermon, with a Latin epitaph, both superabundantly full of her praises, by the pious and learned Bishop Jeremy Taylor. The Earl, in the epitaph, with great tenderness expresses his intention of resting in the same grave with this accomplished lady, although he married so soon afterwards, as we have seen, the Lady Alice Egerton. See *Bishop Taylor's Sermons*, edit. fifth, fol. Printed for R. Royston, 1673. This Lord Carbury was Privy Counsellor to Charles the Second. He harboured in his house at

Golden Grove Bishop Taylor above mentioned, during the Rebellion: and most of that prelate's works are dedicated to him. This Richard Earl of Carbury succeeded his father-in-law, John Earl of Bridgewater, in the Presidentship of Wales: which I chiefly mention, to introduce a circumstance more to his honour, that at the Restoration he appointed Butler to the stewardship of Ludlow Castle, a very respectable and lucrative office, while the principality-court continued to be held there. See Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* ii. 452. and Whitlock, *Mém.* p. 115. edit. 1682. Butler had been before Lord Carbury's secretary.

The two young noblemen, John Lord Brackley and his brother Mr. Thomas Egerton, were practitioners in the business of acting Masques; and although now so very young when they played in *Comus*, had before appeared on a higher stage. They performed in a Masque called *Cælum Britannicum*, written by that elegant poet, the rival of Waller, Thomas Carew, and presented in 1633, in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, on Shrove Tuesday night. See *Carew's Poems*, p. 215. edit. 1651. It is more than probable that they played among the young nobility, together with their sister the Lady Alice, in *Arcades*. Where see v. 26. seq. Their sister PENELOPE Egerton, a sixth daughter, afterwards married to Sir Robert Napier of Luton-Hoo in Bedfordshire, acted at Court, with the Queen and other ladies, in Jonson's Masque of *Chloridia*, at Shrove-tide, 1630. *Jonson's Works*, vol. vi. p. 211.

All that I have mentioned of the Egerton or Bridgewater family, are buried under a stately monument in the church of Little Gadesden in Hertfordshire, but bordering upon Buckinghamshire. On that monument is a long inscription to the memory of the father, the first Earl John, the Lord President of Wales, who, among other valuable accomplishments, is there said to have been "a profound scholar." It was lucky, that at least one person of the audience, and he the chief, was capable of understanding the many learned allusions in this drama. The family lived at Ashridge, in the parish of Gadesden, anciently a royal palace, and still inhabited by their illustrious descendant the present Duke of Bridgewater. Milton, as I have related, lived in the neighbourhood; and, as in writing the Mask for Harefield, was partly from that circumstance employed to write *Comus*: which yet was exhibited at Ludlow Castle, on occasion of Lord Bridgewater's appointment to the principality-court of Wales. *T. Warton.*

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#### HENRY LAWES.

HENRY LAWES, who composed the music for *Comus*, and performed the combined characters of the *Spirit* and the shepherd *Thyrsis* in that drama, was the son of Thomas Lawes, a vicar-choral of Salisbury cathedral. He was perhaps at first a choir-boy

of that church. With his brother William, he was educated in music under Giovanni Coperario; supposed by Fenton, in his notes on Waller, to be an Italian, but really an Englishman under the plain name of John Cooper, at the expence of Edward Earl of Hertford. In January, 1625, he was appointed Pistoler, or Epistoler\*, of the royal chapel; in November following he became one of the gentlemen of the choir of that chapel; and soon afterwards, clerk of the clique, and one of the court-musicians to King Charles the First.

In 1633, in conjunction with Simon Ives, he composed the music to a Mask presented at Whitehall on Candlemass night by the gentlemen of the four Inns of Court, under the direction of such grave characters as Noy, the Attorney General, Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, Selden, and Bulstrode Whitlock. Lawes and Ives received each one hundred pounds as composers; and the whole cost, to the great offence of the puritanical party, amounted to more than one thousand pounds. In Robert Herrick's *Hesperides*, or Poems, are three or four Christmas odes, sung before the King at Whitehall, composed by Lawes, edit. Lond. 1648. 4to. p. [ad calc.] 31. seq. And in the same collection, there is an Epigram *To Mr. Henry Lawes, the excellent Composer of his Lyrics*, by which it appears that he was celebrated no less as a vocal than an instrumental performer, *ibid.* p. 326.

Touch but the lute, my *Harrie*, and I heare  
From thee some raptures of the rare *Gottiere*;  
There, if thy voice commingle with the string,  
I heare in thee the rare *Laniere* to sing,  
Or curious *Wilson*, &c.

Lawes, in the Attendant Spirit, sung the last Air in *Comus*, or all the lyrical part to the end, from v. 958. He appears to have been well acquainted with the best poets, and the most respectable and popular of the nobility, of his times. To say nothing here of Milton, he set to music all the Lyrics in Waller's *Poems*, first published in 1645, among which is an *Ode* addressed to Lawes, by Waller, full of high compliments. One of the pieces of Waller was set by Lawes in 1635. He composed the *Songs*, and a *Masque*, in the *Poems* of Thomas Carew. See third edit. 1651, p. ult. The *Masque* was exhibited in 1633. In the title page to *Comedies, Tragi-comedies*, and other *Poems*, by William Cartwright, published in 1651, but written much earlier, it is said, that the "Ayres and Songs were" set by Mr. Henry Lawes, and Lawes himself has a commendatory poem prefixed, inscribed, "To the memory of my most" "deserving and peculiar friend, Mr. William Cartwright." See note on *Com.* v. 86. The music to Lovelace's *Amarantha*, a Pastoral, is by Lawes. Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* ii. 229. He published "*Ayres*" and *Dialogues* for one, two, and three voyces, &c. Lond. 1653."

\* This officer, before the Reformation, was a deacon; and it was his business to read the *Epistle* at the altar.

fol. They are dedicated to Lady Vaughan and Carbury, who had acted the *Lady in Comus*, and to her sister Mary, Lady Herbert of Cherbury. See the last note. Both had been his scholars in music. "To the two most illustrious Sisters, Alice, Countesse of Carberie, and Mary, Lady Herbert of Cherbury and Castle-island, daughters to John, Earl of Bridgewater, Lord President of Wales, &c. — No sooner I thought of making these public, than of inscribing them to your Ladships: most of them being composed, when I was employed by your ever honoured parents to attend your Ladships' education in musick: who, as in other accomplishments fit for persons of your quality, excelled most ladies, especially in vocal musick, wherein you were so absolute, that you gave life and honour to all I taught you: and that with more understanding, than a new generation [of composers] pre-tending to skill, I dare say, are capable of." [See *Com.* v. 85. and the note.] The words of the numerous songs in this work, are by some of the most eminent poets of the time. A few young noblemen are also contributors. The composers are not only Henry and William Lawes, but Wilson, Coleman, Webb, Lanier, &c. One of the pieces by H. Lawes, is a poem by John Birkenhead, called an "Anniversary on the Nuptials of John, Earl of Bridgewater, Jul. 22, 1642." See p. 33. And Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* ii. 640. This was the young lord Brackley, who played the *First Brother* in *Comus*, and who married Elizabeth, daughter of William, duke of Newcastle. See the last note. Another is the *Complaint of Ariadne*, written by Cartwright, and printed in his *Poems*, p. 238. [See below, *Sonn.* xiii. 11.] For a composition to one of the airs of this piece, which gained excessive and unusual applause, Lawes is said to be the first who introduced the Italian style of music into England. In the Preface he says, he had formerly composed airs to Italian and Spanish words: and, allowing the Italians to be the chief masters of the musical art, concludes that England has produced as able musicians as any country of Europe, and censures the prevailing fondness for Italian words. To this Preface, among others, are prefixed Waller's verses above mentioned; and two copies by Edward and John Philips, Milton's nephews. There are also "Select *Ayres* and *Dialogues* to sing to the theorbo-lute, or bass-viol, composed by Mr. Henry Lawes, late servant to his Majesty in his publick and private musicke, and other excellent masters. The second Book. Lond. Printed by W. Goodbid for John Playford, and to be sold at his shop in the Temple near the Church-dore, 1669." Here is the *Song*, quoted in the last note, called *The Earl to the Countess of Carbury*. See p. 90. Compare Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* ii. F. p. 59. Besides his *Psalms*, printed for Moseley, 1648, in conjunction with his brother William, and to which Milton's thirteenth *Sonnet* is prefixed, *To Mr. H. Lawes on the publishing his Airs*, dated in the Trinity manuscript, Febr. 9, 1645, Lawes composed tunes to Sandys's admirable *Paraphrase* of the *Psalms*, first published in 1638. [See note on *Sonn.* xiii. v. 11.]

I know not, if any of these Psalm-tunes were ever popular: but Lawes's seventy-second Psalm was once the tune of the chimes of Saint Lawrence Jewry. Wood says, that he had seen a poem written by Sir Walter Raleigh, "which had a musical composition " of two parts set to it by the incomparable artist Henry Lawes." *Athen. Oxon.* ii. p. 441. num. 510. See also vol. i. F. p. 194. More of Lawes's works are in the Treasury of Musick, 1669; in the Musical Companion, 1662; in Tudway's Collection of British Music; and in other old and obsolete musical miscellanies.

Cromwell's usurpation put an end to masks and music: and Lawes being dispossessed of all his appointments, by men who despised and discouraged the elegancies and ornaments of life, chiefly employed that gloomy period in teaching a few young ladies to sing and play on the lute. Yet he was still greatly respected; for before the troubles began, his irreproachable life, ingenuous deportment, engaging manners, and liberal connections, had not only established his character, but raised even the credit of his profession. Wood says, that his most beneficent friends during his sufferings for the royal cause, in the Rebellion and afterwards, were the ladies *Alice* and *Mary*, the Earl of Bridgewater's daughters, before mentioned. MSS. Mus. *Ashmole*. D. 17. p. 115. 4to. But in the year 1660, he was restored to his places and practice; and had the happiness to compose the Coronation Anthem for the exiled monarch. He died in 1662, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Of all the testimonies paid to his merit by his contemporaries, Milton's commendation, in the thirteenth *Sonnet* and in some of the speeches in *Comus*, must be esteemed the most honourable. And Milton's praise is likely to be founded on truth. Milton was no specious or occasional flatterer; and, at the same time, was a skillful performer on the organ, and a judge of music. And it appears probable, that even throughout the Rebellion, he had continued his friendship for Lawes; for long after the king was restored, he added the *Sonnet* to *Lawes* in the new edition of his Poems, printed under his own eye, in 1673. Nor has our author only complimented Lawes's excellencies in music. For in *Comus*, having said that *Thyrsis* with his *soft pipe*, and *smooth-dittied song*, could still the *roaring winds*, and hush the *waving woods*, he adds, v. 88.

—Nor of less faith.

And he joins his *worth* with his *skill*, *Sonn.* xiii. v. 5.

In 1784, in the house of Mr. Elderton, an attorney at Salisbury, I saw an original portrait of Henry Lawes on board, marked with his name, and "ætat. suæ 26, 1626." This is now in the Bishop's palace at Salisbury. It is not ill painted; the face and ruff in tolerable preservation; the drapery, a cloak, much injured. Another in the Music-School at Oxford; undoubtedly placed there before the Rebellion, and not long after the institution of that school, in 1626, by his friend Dr. William Heather, a gentleman of the

Royal Chapel. And among the mutilated records of the same School, is the following entry; "Mr. Henry Lawes gentleman of "his Majesty's Chapell Royall, and of his private musick, gave to "this School a rare Theorbo for singing to, valued at . . . . with "the Earl of Bridgewater's crest in brasse just under the finger-board, with its case: as also a sett of . . . ." The Earl of Bridgewater is the second Earl John, who acted the part of the *First Brother* in *Comus*, being then Lord Brackley.

Henry's brother William, a composer of considerable eminence, was killed in 1645, at the siege of Chester: and, it is said, that the King wore a private mourning for his death. Herrick has commemorated his untimely fate, which suddenly silenced every *violl, lute, and voyce*, in a little poem *Upon Mr. William Lawes the rare Musician*. *Hesperid.* ut supr. p. 341. Of William's separate works, there are two bulky manuscript volumes in score, for various instruments, in the Music School at Oxford. In one of them, I know not if with any of Henry's intermixed, are his original compositions for *Masks* exhibited before the king at Whitehall, and at the Inns of Court. Most of the early musical treasures of that School were destroyed or dispersed in the reign of fanaticism; nor was the establishment, which flourishes with great improvements under the care and abilities of the present worthy Professor, effectually restored till the year 1665<sup>b</sup>.

I have purposely reserved what I had to say particularly about Lawes's *Comus*, with a few remarks on the characteristic style of his music, to the end of this note. Peek asserts, that Milton wrote *Comus* at the request of Lawes, who promised to set it to music. Most probably, this *Mask*, while in projection, was the occasion of their acquaintance, and first brought them together. Lawes was

<sup>b</sup> I find the following injunction from Cromwell's Vice-Chancellor and Delegates, dated April 3, 1656. "Whereas the Musick Lecture usually read in the "*Vesperis Comitiorum* [in this School] is found by experience to be altogether "*uselesse*, noe way tending to the honour of the University, or the furtherance of "any literature, but hath been an occasion of great dishonour to God, scandall to "the place, and of many evils: It is ordered by the Delegates that it be utterly "taken away." MS. *Acta* Delegator. Univ. Oxon. ab ann. 1655. sub ann. 1656. Yet soon afterwards the following order occurs under the same year. "Concerning "the Musick Lecture, it was approved by the Delegates, that Instruments bee "provided according to the will of the founder: and Mr. Proctor bee desired to "goe to the President and Fellows of S. John's for the gift or loan of their Chaire- "organ." And afterwards it is ordered under 1657, that the musick books of the School, which had been removed by one Jackson, a musician and royalist, should be restored, and the stipend duly paid to the professor Dr. Wilson. This institution, however, languished in neglect and contempt till the Restoration; and for this slight support, I suspect, was solely indebted to the interposition of Dr. Wilkins, one of the Delegates, Cromwell's Warden of Wadham College, a profound adept in the occult sciences, and a lover of music on philosophical principles.

now a domestic for a time at least, in Lord Bridgewater's family, for it is said of *Thyrsis* in *Comus*, v. 85.

That to the service of this house belongs,  
Who with his soft pipe, &c.

And, as we have seen, he taught the Earl's daughters to sing, to one of whom, the Lady *Alice*, the *Song to Echo* was allotted. And Milton was a neighbour of the family. See the last note. It is well known, that Lawes's Music to *Comus* was never printed. But by a manuscript in his own hand-writing it appears, that the three Songs, *Sweet Echo*, *Sabrina Fair*, and *Back Shepherds Back*, with the lyrical Epilogue, "To the Ocean now I fly," were the whole of the original musical composition for this drama. I am obliged to my very ingenious friend, the late Doctor William Hayes, Professor of Music at Oxford, for some of this intelligence. Sir John Hawkins has printed Lawes's song of *Sweet Echo* with the words, *Hist. Mus.* iv. 53. So has Doctor Burney. One is surprised that more music was not introduced in this performance, especially as Lawes might have given further proofs of the vocal skill and proficiency of his fair scholar. As there is less music, so there is less machinery, in *Comus*, than in any other mask. The intrinsic graces of its exquisite poetry disdained assistance.

For a composition to one of the airs of Cartwright's *Ariadne*, mentioned above, Lawes, as I have before incidentally remarked, is said to have introduced the Italian style of music into England: and Fenton, in his Notes on Waller, affirms, that he imported a *softer mixture of Italian airs* than was yet known. This perhaps is not strictly or technically true. Without a rigorous adherence to counterpoint, but with more taste and feeling than the pedantry of theoretic harmony could confer, he communicated to verse an original and expressive melody. He exceeded his predecessors and contemporaries, in a pathos and sentiment, a simplicity and propriety, an articulation and intelligibility, which so naturally adapt themselves to the words of the poet. Hence, says our author, *Sonn.* xiii. 7.

To after age thou shalt be writ the man  
That with smooth air could humour best our tongue.

Which lines stand thus in the manuscript,

To after age thou shalt be writ the man  
That didst reform thy art.

And in *Comus*, Milton praises his "soft pipe, and smooth-dittied song," v. 86. One of his excellencies was an exact accommodation of the accents of the music to the quantities of the verse. As in the *Sonnet* just quoted, v. 1. seq.

Harry whose tuneful and well measur'd song  
First taught our English music how to span  
Words with just note and accent, not to scan  
With Midas-care, committing short and long.



Waller joins with Milton in saying, that other composers admit the poet's sense but *faintly* and *dimly*, like the rays through a church-window of painted glass: while his favourite Lawes

—Could truly boast,  
That not a syllable is lost.

And this is what Milton means, where he says in the *sonnet* so often cited, "Thou honour'st verse." v. 9. In vocal execution, he made his own subservient to the poet's art. In his tunes to Sandys's Psalms, his observance of the rythmus and syllabic accent, an essential requisite of vocal composition, is very striking and perceptible; and his strains are joyous, plaintive, or supplicatory, according to the sentiment of the stanza. These Psalms are for one singer. The solo was now coming into vogue: and Lawes's talent principally consisted in songs for a single voice: and here his excellencies which I have mentioned might be applied with the best effect. The *Song to Echo* in *Comus* was for a single voice, where the composer was not only interested in exerting all his skill, but had at the same time the means of shewing it to advantage; for he was the preceptor of the lady who sung it, and consequently must be well acquainted with her peculiar powers and characteristical genius. The poet says, that this song "rose like a steam of rich-distilled" "perfumes, and stole upon the air, &c." v. 555. Here seems to be an allusion to Lawes's *new manner*; although the lady's voice is perhaps the more immediate object of the compliment. Perhaps this song wants embellishments, and has too much simplicity, for modern critics, and a modern audience. But it is the opinion of one whom I should be proud to name, and to which I agree, that were Mrs. Siddons to act the Lady in *Comus*, and sing this very simple air, when every word would be heard with a proper accent and pathetic intonation, the effect would be truly theatrical. Another excellent judge, of consummate taste and knowledge in his science, is unwilling to allow that Lawes had much address in adapting the accents of the music and the quantities of the verse. He observes, that in this *Song to Echo* a favourable opportunity was suggested to the musician for instrumental iterations, of which he made no use: and that, as the words have no accompaniment but a dry bass, the notes were but ill calculated to *waken Echo* however *courteous*, and to invite her to give an *answer*. *Borney's Hist. Mus.* vol. iii. ch. vii. p. 382, 383, 384, 393. It is certain, that the words and subject of this exquisite song afford many tempting capabilities for the tricks of a modern composer.

Mr. Mason has paid no inconsiderable testimony to Lawes's music, in encouraging and patronising a republication of his Psalm-tunes to Sandys's *Paraphrase*, with variations, by the ingenious Mr. Matthew Camidge, of York cathedral. From the judicious Preface to that work, written by Mr. Mason, I have adopted, and added to what I had hazarded on the subject in my last edition, many of these criticisms on Lawes's musical style. Lawes has also

received another tribute of regard from Mr. Mason: in Lawes's *Song to Echo*, he has very skilfully altered or improved the bass, and modernised the melody. *T. Warton.*

### ORIGIN OF COMUS.

IN Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, an Arcadian comedy recently published, Milton found many touches of pastoral and superstitious imagery, congenial with his own conceptions. Many of these, yet with the highest improvements, he has transferred into *Comus*; together with the general cast and colouring of the piece. He caught also from the lyric rhymes of Fletcher, that *Dorique delicacy*, with which Sir Henry Wotton was so much delighted in the Songs of Milton's drama. Fletcher's comedy was coldly received the first night of its performance. But it had ample revenge in this conspicuous and indisputable mark of Milton's approbation. It was afterwards represented as a Mask at court, before the King and Queen on twelfth-night, in 1633. I know not, indeed, if this was any recommendation to Milton; who in the *Paradise Lost* speaks contemptuously of these interludes, which had been among the chief diversions of an elegant and liberal monarch. B. iv. 767. (where see the note.) I believe the whole compliment was paid to the genius of Fletcher.

The ingenious and accurate Mr. Reed has pointed out a rude outline, from which Milton seems partly to have sketched the plan of the fable of *Comus*. See *Biograph. Dramat.* ii. p. 441. It is an old play, with this title, "*The old Wives' Tale*, a pleasant conceited Comedie, plaid by the Queens Maiesties players. Written by "G. P. [i. e. George Peele.] Printed at London by John Danter, and "are to be sold by Ralph Hancocke and John Hardie, 1595." In quarto. This very scarce and curious piece exhibits, among other parallel incidents, two Brothers wandering in quest of their Sister, whom an Enchanter had imprisoned. This magician had learned his art from his mother Meroe, as Comus had been instructed by his mother Circe. The Brothers call out on the Lady's name, and Echo replies to their call. They find too late their Sister is under the captivity of a wicked magician, and that she had tasted his cup of oblivion. In the close, after the wreath is torn from the magician's head, and he is disarmed and killed, by a Spirit in the shape and character of a beautiful page of fifteen years old, she still remains subject to the magician's enchantment. But in a subsequent scene the Spirit enters, and declares, that the Sister cannot be delivered but by a Lady, who is neither maid, wife, nor widow. The Spirit blows a magical horn, and the Lady appears; she dissolves the charm, by breaking a glass, and extinguishing a light. A curtain is withdrawn, and the Sister is seen seated and asleep.

She is disenchanted and restored to her senses, having been spoken to *thrice*. She then rejoins her Two Brothers, with whom she returns home; and the Boy-spirit vanishes under the earth. The magician is here called "inchanter vile," as in *Comus*, v. 906.

The names of some of the characters, as Sacrapant, Chorebus, and others, are taken from the *Orlando Furioso*. The history of Meroe a witch, may be seen in "The xi Bookes of the Golden Asse, containing the Metamorphosies of Lucius Apuleius interlaced with sundrie pleasant and delectable Tales, &c. Translated out of Latin into English by William Adlington, Lond. 1566." See chap. iii. "How Socrates in his returne from Macedony to Larissa was spoyled and robbed, and how he fell acquainted with one Meroe a witch." And chap. iv. "How Meroe the witch turned divers persons into miserable beasts." Of this book there were other editions, in 1571, 1596, 1600, and 1639. All in quarto and the black letter. The translator was of University College. See also Apuleius in the original. That Milton had his eye on this ancient drama, which might have been the favourite of his early youth, perhaps it may be at least affirmed with as much credibility, as that he conceived the *Paradise Lost*, from seeing a Mystery at Florence, written by Andreini a Florentine in 1617, entitled *Adamo*.

In the menn time it must be confessed, that Milton's magician Comus, with his cup and wand, is ultimately founded on the fable of Circe. The effects of both characters are much the same. They are both to be opposed at first with force and violence. Circe is subdued by the virtues of the herb Moly which Mercury gives to Ulysses, and Comus by the plant Hæmony which the Spirit gives to the two Brothers. About the year 1615, a Masque called the *Inner Temple Masque*, written by William Browne author of *Britannia's Pastorals*, which I have frequently cited, was presented by the students of the Inner Temple. See note on *Com.* v. 232. 636. 659. It has been lately printed from a manuscript in the Library of Emanuel College; but I have been informed, that a few copies were printed soon after the presentation. It is formed on the story of Circe, and perhaps might have suggested some few hints to Milton. I will give some proofs of parallelism as we go along.

The genius of the best poets is often determined, if not directed, by circumstance and accident. It is natural, that even so original a writer as Milton should have been biassed by the reigning poetry of the day, by the composition most in fashion, and by subjects recently brought forward, but soon giving way to others, and almost as soon totally neglected and forgotten. *T. Warton.*



# A MASK.

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THE FIRST SCENE DISCOVERS A WILD WOOD.

*The Attendant Spirit descends or enters.*

BEFORE the starry threshold of Jove's court  
My mansion is, where those immortal shapes  
Of bright aerial spirits live inspher'd

Milton has here more professedly imitated the manner of Shakespeare in his fairy scenes than in any other of his works: and his poem is much the better for it, not only for the beauty, variety, and novelty of his images, but for a brighter vein of poetry, and an ease and delicacy of expression very superior to his natural manner. *Warburton.*

1. *Before the starry threshold &c.*] This character of the attendant Spirit is formed upon that of Ariel in the *Tempest*, but very much heightened and improved by Milton, who was well acquainted with the Platonic notions of spirits or demons; and in Milton's manuscript this personage is entitled a *Guardian Spirit or Demon*.

1. *Demon* is used for *spirit*, and also for *angel*, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, act ii. s. 3.

Thy *demon*, that's thy *spirit*, which keeps thee, is

Noble, courageous, high, unmatchable,

Where *Cæsar's* is not; but near him thy *angel*

Becomes a fear.—

The expressions, however, are literally from North's *Plutarch*. See also Spenser's *Ruins of Rome*, st. 27.

The Spirit's prologue, which opens the business of the drama, is introduced after the manner of the Greek tragedy. He might, however, have avoided any application to an audience, as at v. 43. See, among others, the prologues to the *Hecuba*, *Hippolytus*, and *Iphigenia in Tauris*, of Euripides. *T. Warton.*

3. *Of bright aerial spirits live inspher'd*] In *Il Penseroso*, the spirit of Plato was to be *unspher'd*, v. 88. That is, to be called down from the sphere to which it had been allotted, where it had been *inspher'd*: the word occurs exactly in the same sense in *Dray-*

In regions mild of calm and serene air,  
 Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot, 5  
 Which men call Earth, and with low thoughted care  
 Confin'd, and pester'd in this pinfold here,

ton, on his mistress, vol. iv. p. 1352.

Whereas I will *inquire* her  
 In regions high and starry.

Compare Par. L. vii. 247. *T. Warton.*

4. *In regions mild of calm and serene air,*] Alluding probably to Homer's happy seats of the gods, *Odyss. vi. 42.*

—ὅθι φασὶ θεῶν ἰδὸς ἀσφαλὲς αἶψα  
 Ἑρμῖναι· οὐτ' ἀνιμασι νηυσσενταί, οὐτι  
 σέσ' ἄμβρο  
 Διόνται, οὐτι χυμὸν σπειρίλοισιν· ἀλλὰ  
 μάλ' ἄδρη  
 Πίσταται ἀνθρώποις, λίον δ' ἐπιθόρεμα  
 ἀγλα.

Which verses Lucretius has excellently copied, iii. 18.

Apparet Divūm numen, sedesque  
 quietæ;  
 Quas neque concutunt venti, neque  
 nubila nimbis  
 Ad-purgunt; neque nix acri concreta  
 pruina  
 Cana cadens violat; semperque innu-  
 bilus æther  
 Integit, et large diffuso lumine ridet.

See Lucan too at the beginning of book the ninth, concerning the departed soul of Pompey. After this line Milton had inserted these which follow, and scratched them out again in his manuscript.

Amidst th' Hesperian gardens, on  
 whose banks  
 Bedew'd with nectar and celestial  
 songs  
 Eternal roses grow, and hyacinth,  
 And fruits of golden rind, on whose  
 fair tree  
 The scaly harness'd dragon ever keeps

His unincharmed eye: around the  
 verge  
 And sacred limits of this blissful isle  
 The jealous ocean that old river winds  
 His far-extended arms, till with steep  
 fall  
 Half his waste flood the wide Atlantic  
 fills,  
 And half the slow unfathom'd Stygian  
 pool.  
 But soft, I was not sent to court your  
 wonder  
 With distant worlds and strange re-  
 moved climes.  
 Yet thence I come, and oft from  
 thence behold  
 The smoke and stir of this dim nar-  
 row spot, &c.

These lines, I think, may serve as a specimen of the truth of what Waller says,

Poets lose half the praise they should  
 have got,  
 Could it be known what they dis-  
 creetly blot.

5. —*this dim spot,*  
*Which men call Earth,*]  
 As Adam speaks to the angel,  
 Par. L. viii. 17.

—this Earth, a spot, a grain,  
 An atom, &c. - - - - -  
 Round this opacous Earth, this punc-  
 tual spot.

*T. Warton.*

7. *Confin'd, and pester'd in this pinfold here,*] Pinfold is now provincial, and signifies sometimes a sheepfold, but most commonly a pound. It occurs seemingly in the first sense in Spenser's *Ireland*. Our author calls the Liturgy "a pinfold of set words." Pr. W. i. 413. Compare Fair-

Strive to keep up a frail and feverish being,  
 Unmindful of the crown that virtue gives  
 After this mortal change to her true servants 10  
 Amongst the enthron'd Gods on sainted seats.  
 Yet some there be that by due steps aspire  
 To lay their just hands on that golden key,

fax's Tasso, c. xiii. 20. Shake-  
 speare, *K. Lear*, act ii. s. 2. *Two*  
*Gent. Verona*, act i. s. 1. It is a  
 pound in Hudibras. A pinner is  
 a shepherd in some parts of Eng-  
 land, one who pins the fold.  
 In old deeds, among manorial  
 rights, the privilege of a pinfold  
 for pound is claimed. *T. Warton*.

8. *Strive to keep up a frail and*  
*feverish being,*] This endeavour  
 is in itself no fault; it becomes  
 so only as it is circumstanced:  
 and the Trinity manuscript gives  
 this circumstance, which was  
 therefore necessary to the just-  
 ness of the thought,

Beyond the written date of mortal  
 change.

By the *written date* is meant  
 Scripture, in which is recorded  
 the abridged date of mortal life.  
*Warburton*.

I am still inclined to think  
 that this line is better omitted.  
 For though it may not be a fault  
 in itself to

Strive to keep up a frail and feverish  
 being,

yet it certainly is so to strive to  
 keep it up

Unmindful of the crown that virtue  
 gives:

and he could not have added

—the crown that virtue gives  
 After this mortal change—

if he had said just before

Beyond the written date of mortal  
 change:

and therefore I cannot but think  
 that he blotted out this line not  
 without reason.

8. Besides, an allusion to the  
 written date of *Scripture* would  
 be improper in the person of the  
 attendant spirit. For the same  
 reason there seems to be an im-  
 propriety in supposing an allu-  
 sion to St. Peter's golden key in  
 v. 13, where see the note. *E*.

11. *Amongst the enthron'd Gods*  
*on sainted seats.*] So this verse  
 stands in Milton's manuscript as  
 well as in all his editions: and  
 yet I cannot but prefer the read-  
 ing of Mr. Fenton's editions,

Amongst th' enthroned Gods on  
 sainted seats.

11. Shakespeare, *Anton. Cleop.*  
 act i. s. 3.

Though you in swearing shake the  
 throned Gods.

See note on Par. L. v. 535. *T.*  
*Warton*.

13. —*that golden key, &c.*] This  
 seems to be said in allusion  
 to Peter's golden key, mentioned  
 likewise in *Lycidas*, 110.

Two massy keys he bore of metals  
 twain,  
 (The golden open, the iron shuts  
 again.)

And this verse, which was first  
 c 3

That opes the palace of eternity :  
 To such my errand is; and but for such, 15  
 I would not soil these pure ambrosial weeds  
 With the rank vapours of this sin-worn mould.  
 But to my task. Neptune besides the sway  
 Of every salt flood, and each ebbing stream,  
 Took in by lot 'twixt high and nether Jove 20  
 Imperial rule of all the sea-girt isles  
 That like to rich and various gems inlay  
 The unadorned bosom of the deep,  
 Which he to grace his tributary Gods

written *That shows* &c. afterwards altered,

*That opes* the palace of eternity,  
 Mr. Pope has transferred with a little alteration into one of his Satires, speaking of Virtue,

Her priestess Muse forbids the good  
 to die,  
 And opes the temple of eternity.

13. Jonson, *Hymen*, v. p. 296.  
 of Truth.

Her left [hold-] a curious bunch of  
 golden keys,  
 With which heaven's gate she lock-  
 eth and displays.

Where *displays* is *opens*. T.  
 Warton.

18. *But to my task* &c.] These four lines were thus in the manuscript before they were altered.

But to my *business now*. Neptune,  
 whose sway  
 Of every salt flood, and each ebbing  
 stream,  
 Took in by lot 'twixt high and nether  
 Jove

*The rule and title of each sea-girt isle.*  
 And they were altered with great reason, no verb following the nominative case, *Neptune*.

23. *That like to rich and various  
 gems inlay*

*The unadorned bosom of the  
 deep.]*

The first hint of this beautiful passage seems to have been taken from Shakespeare's *Rich. II.* act ii. sc. 1. where John of Gaunt calls this island by the same sort of metaphor,

—this little world,  
 This precious stone set in the silver sea.

22. But Milton has heightened the comparison, omitting Shakespeare's petty conceit of the *silver sea*, the conception of a jeweller, and substituting another and a more striking piece of imagery. This *rich inlay*, to use an expression in the *Paradise Lost*, gives beauty to the bosom of the deep, else *unadorned*. It has its effect on a simple ground. Thus the *bare earth*, before the creation, was "desert and bare, unsightly, unadorned." *P. L.* vii. 314.

Eve's tresses are *unadorned*,  
*Ibid.* iv. 305. T. Warton.



By course commits to several government, 25  
 And gives them leave to wear their sapphire crowns,  
 And wield their little tridents : but this isle,  
 The greatest and the best of all the main,  
 He quarters to his blue-hair'd deities ;  
 And all this tract that fronts the falling sun 30  
 A noble Peer of mickle trust and power  
 Has in his charge, with temper'd awe to guide  
 An old, and haughty nation proud in arms :  
 Where his fair offspring nurs'd in princely lore  
 Are coming to attend their father's state, 35  
 And new-intrusted sceptre ; but their way

28. —*the best of all the main,*] So altered in the manuscript from —*the best of all his empire.*

29. *He quarters*] That is, Neptune: with which name he honours the king, as sovereign of the four seas; for from the British Neptune alone this noble Peer derives his authority. *Warburton.*

32. —*With temper'd awe to guide*

*An old and haughty nation, proud in arms.]*

That is, the Cambro-Britons, who were to be governed by respect mixed with awe. The Earl of Bridgewater, "A noble Peer of mickle trust and power," was now governor of the Welch as lord-president of the principality. "Proud in arms," is Virgil's "belloque superbi." *Æn.* i. 21. *T. Warton.*

33. *Where his fair offspring, nurs'd in princely lore, &c.]* I have been informed from a manuscript of Oldys, that Lord Bridgewater entered upon his official residence

at Ludlow castle with great solemnity. On this occasion he was attended by a large concourse of the neighbouring nobility and gentry. Among the rest came his children; in particular, Lord Brackley, Mr. Thomas Egerton, and Lady Alice,

—*To attend their father's state,  
 And new-intrusted sceptre.*—

They had been on a visit at a house of their relations the Egerton family in Herefordshire; and in passing through Haywood forest were benighted, and the Lady Alice was even lost for a short time. This accident, which in the end was attended with no bad consequences, furnished the subject of a *Mask* for a Michaelmas festivity, and produced *Comus*. Lord Bridgewater was appointed Lord President, May 12, 1633. When the perilous adventure in Haywood forest happened, if true, cannot now be told. It must have been soon after. The *Mask* was acted at Michaelmas, 1634. *T. Warton.*

## 24 POEMS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

Lies through the perplex'd paths of this drear wood,  
 The nodding horror of whose shady brows  
 Threats the forlorn and wand'ring passenger ;  
 And here their tender age might suffer peril, 40  
 But that by quick command from sovereign Jove  
 I was dispatch'd for their defence and guard ;  
 And listen why, for I will tell you now  
 What never yet was heard in tale or song,  
 From old or modern bard, in hall or bower. 45

Bacchus, that first from out the purple grape  
 Crush'd the sweet poison of misused wine,  
 After the Tuscan mariners transform'd,

43. *And listen why, for I will  
 tell you now  
 What never yet was heard &c.]*  
 Horace, od. iii. l. 2.

*Favete linguis: carmina non prius  
 Audita—  
 Virginibus puerisque canto.*

*Richardson.*

Milton might justly enough say this, since *Comus* is a deity of his own making: but the same allegory has been introduced by most of the principal epic poets under other personages. Such are Homer's *Circe*, Ariosto's *Alcina*, Tasso's *Armida*, and Spenser's *Acrasia*.

*From old or modern bard, in hall or bower.*

Alluding to the ancient custom of poets repeating their own verses at public entertainments.  
*Thyer.*

45. *From old or modern bard,]*  
 It was at first in the manuscript,  
 By old or modern bard—

45. —*in hall or bower.]* That is, literally, in hall or chamber.

The two words are often thus joined in the old metrical romances. And thus in Spenser's *Astrophel*.

*Merrily masking both in bowre and hall.*

And his *Colin Clouts* come home again.

*And purchase highest room in bowre or hall.*

Where *room* is *place*, as in St. Luke xiv. 8, 9, 10. Shakespeare has *bower* for chamber, *Coriolan.* act iii. s. 2. So Chaucer, *Mil. T.* 259. And Spenser, *Prothalam.* st. viii. *T. Warton.*

46. *Bacchus, that first &c.]* Though he builds his fable on classic mythology, yet his materials of magic have more the air of enchantments in the Gothic romances. *Warburton.*

48. *After the Tuscan mariners transform'd,]* They were changed by Bacchus into ships and dolphins, the story of which metamorphosis the reader may see in Ovid. *Met.* iii. Fab. 8.

Coasting the Tyrrhene shore, as the winds listed,  
 On Circe's island fell: (Who knows not Circe 50  
 The daughter of the sun? whose charmed cup  
 Whoever tasted, lost his upright shape,  
 And downward fell into a grovelling swine)  
 This Nymph that gaz'd upon his clust'ring locks,  
 With ivy berries wreath'd, and his blithe youth, 55  
 Had by him, ere he parted thence, a son  
 Much like his father, but his mother more,  
 Whom therefore she brought up, and Comus nam'd,

48. This story is alluded to in Homer's fine hymn to Bacchus; the punishments he inflicted on the Tyrrhene pirates are the subjects of the beautiful frieze on the Lantern of Demosthenes, described by Mr. Stuart, in his *Antiq. of Athens*, p. 33. Dr. J. Warton.

Lilius Gyraldus relates, that this history was most beautifully represented in Mosaic work, in the church of St. Agna at Rome, originally a temple of Bacchus. And it is one of the pictures in Philostratus. T. Warton.

50. —*who knows not Circe, &c.*] See Boethius, l. iv. m. iii. and Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 11. 17. Alcina has an enchanted cup in Ariosto, c. x. 45. T. Warton.

54. —*clust'ring*] See the notes, Par. L. iv. 303. E.

55. *With ivy-berries wreath'd,*] Nonnus calls Bacchus *καρυβεφύης*, b. xiv. See also Ovid, *Fast.* i. 393. and our author, *El.* vi. 15. T. Warton.

57. *Much like his father, but his mother more.*] This is said, because Milton's Comus, like

Homer's Circe, represents all sensual pleasures; and Bacchus, in the heathen mythology, only presides over that of drinking. Thyer.

58. *Whom therefore she brought up, and Comus nam'd.*] This line was at first in the Manuscript,

*Which therefore she brought up, and nam'd him Comus.*

58. —*and Comus nam'd.*] Doctor Newton observes, that Comus is a deity of Milton's own making. But if not a natural and easy personification, by our author, of the Greek ΚΩΜΟΣ, *Comessatio*, it should be remembered, that Comus is distinctly and most sublimely personified in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, edit. Stanl. p. 376. v. 1195. Where says Cassandra, "That horrid band, who sing of evil things, will never forsake this house. Be hold, Comus, the drinker of human blood, and fired with new rage, still remains within the house, being sent forward in an unlucky hour by the

Who ripe, and frolic of his full grown age,  
 Roving the Celtic and Iberian fields,  
 At last betakes him to this ominous wood,  
 And in thick shelter of black shades imbrow'r'd

60

"Furies his kindred, who chant  
 "a hymn recording the original  
 "crime of this fated family, &c."

Τοι γὰρ στήναι, τιν' ὕμνον' ἑλίσσει  
 Κούρι,  
 Συμφέγγον σου ἰφίματος.—  
 Καί μιν αἰσινάει, γ' αἷς θρασυνοθεύειν,  
 Πρῶτον αἶμα ΚΩΜΟΣ ἐν δαίμονι μινί,  
 Δυσσεύσας αἶψα συγγενῶν Ἐργασίαν.  
 Τρῖνοι δ' ὅμοι δαίμονι προσημνίαι  
 Πρωταρχοὶ αὐτοί.—

*Comus* is here the god of riot and intemperance, and he has assumed new boldness from drinking human blood: that is, because Atreus served up his murdered children for a feast, and Agamemnon was killed at the beginning of a banquet. There is a long and laboured description of the figure of *Comus* in the *Icones* of Philostratus, ὁ δαίμων ὁ ΚΩΜΟΣ ἰφίτηκτος ἐν θαλαμῶν θυραῖς χρυσαῖς, &c. Among other circumstances, his crown of roses is mentioned. Also, "Κροτάλα, καὶ ἔρως παύλος, καὶ βῆσ' αἰσχυροί, λαμπράδης τε, &c." EIKON B. i. p. 733. seq. edit. Paris. 1608. fol. Compare Erycius Puteanus's *Comus*, a *Vision*, written 1608. It is remarkable, that *Comus* makes no figure in the Roman literature.

Peck supposes Milton's *Comus* to be *Chemos*, "th' obscene dread  
 "of Moab's sons." *P. L.* i. 406. But, with a sufficient propriety of allegory, he is professedly made the son of Bacchus and of Homer's sorceress Circe. Besides, our author in his early

poetry, and he was now only twenty-six years old, is generally more classical and less scriptural, than in pieces written after he had been deeply tinctured with the Bible.

It must not, in the mean time, here be omitted, that *Comus* the "god of cheer," had been before a dramatic personage in one of Jonson's *Masques* before the Court, 1619. An immense cup is carried before him, and he is crowned with roses and other flowers, &c. vol. vi. 29. His attendants carry javelins wreathed with ivy. He enters, riding in triumph from a grove of ivy, to the wild music of flutes, tabors, and cymbals. At length the grove of ivy is destroyed, p. 35.

And the voluptuous *Comus*, god of cheer,  
 Beat from his grove, and that defac'd,  
 &c.

See also Jonson's *Forest*, b. i. 3.

*Comus* puts in for new delights, &c.  
*T. Warton.*

60. —the Celtic and Iberian fields,] France and Spain. *Thyer.*

61. At last betakes him to this ominous wood.] *Ominous* is dangerous, inauspicious, full of portents, &c. B. and Fletcher use it in this sense, *Sea Voyage*, a. i. s. 1. vol. ix. p. 95. Afterwards *Comus's* wood is called "this advent'rous glade." v. 79. *T. Warton.*

62. And in thick shelter of black shades] In Milton's Manuscript

Excels his mother at her mighty art,  
 Offering to every weary traveller  
 His orient liquor in a crystal glass, 65  
 To quench the drought of Phœbus, which as they taste,  
 (For most do taste through fond intemp'rate thirst)  
 Soon as the potion works, their human count'nance,  
 Th' express resemblance of the Gods, is chang'd  
 Into some brutish form of wolf, or bear, 70  
 Or ounce, or tiger, hog, or bearded goat,  
 All other parts remaining as they were ;

it is *shade* : and *covert* was written first, then *shelter*.

63. *Excels his mother at her mighty art,*] In the Trinity Manuscript he had first written *potent art*, which are Shakespeare's words, and better. Warburton.

65. *His orient liquor*] That is, of an extreme bright and vivid colour. Warburton.

See the note, P. L. i. 546. E.

67. —*through fond*] So altered in the Manuscript from *through weak intemperate thirst*.

68. —*their human count'nance, Th' express resemblance of the Gods,*]

The same thought is again very finely expressed in the following lines of this poem, where the attendant Spirit is describing to the two brothers the effects of this charmed cup.

—whose pleasing poison

The visage quite transforms of him that drinks,

And the inglorious likeness of a beast  
 Fixes instead, unmoulding reason's  
 mintage

Character'd in the face.

He gives us much the same idea in his *Paradise Lost*, where he

calls the *human face* divine, iii. 44. *Thyger*.

72. *All other parts remaining as they were ;*] It was at first in the Manuscript, *as before*. There is a remarkable difference in the transformations wrought by Circe and those by her son Comus. In Homer the persons are entirely changed, their mind only remaining as it was before, *Odyss. x. 239*.

Οἱ δὲ σὺντα μὴν ἔχουσιν ἀνθρώπων, φάνησι τι,  
 ἄνθρωποι τι,

Καὶ ἐρχόμενοι αὐτοὺς τοὺς αὖτ' ἰμῶντο, ὡς  
 τοὺς πατρὸς περ.

but here only their head or countenance is changed,

*All other parts remaining as they were ;* and for a very good reason, because they were to appear upon the stage, which they might do in masks. In Homer too they are sorry for the exchange, ver. 241.

Ὡς εἰ μὴ κλεινὸν ἔχουσιν—

but here the allegory is finely improved, and they have no notion of their disfigurement,

But boast themselves more comely than  
 before,

And all their friends and native home  
 forget.

And they, so perfect is their misery,  
 Not once perceive their foul disfigurement,  
 But boast themselves more comely than before, 75  
 And all their friends and native home forget,  
 To roll with pleasure in a sensual sty.  
 Therefore when any favour'd of high Jove  
 Chances to pass through this advent'rous glade,

This improvement upon Homer might still be copied from Homer, who ascribes much the same effect to the *Lotos*, *Odyss.* ix. 94.

Τοι δ' ἴσθις λωτοῖσι φάγας μελῶνδ' ἀφρονέοντες,  
 Οὐκ ἐν' ἀπαγγελίᾳ πάλιν φησὶν, εὐδὲ  
 νιόβαν.

Αλλ' οὐτοῦ βουλομένο μετ' ἀνδρῶν ἄνθρωποι  
 φάγοντες

ἄνθρωποι κτισσόμενοι μετῶν, νοστήσαντες λα-  
 βόμενοι.

The trees around them all their food produce,

*Lotos* the name, divine, nectareous juice!

(Thence call'd *Lotophagi*) which whose tastes,

Insatiate riots in the sweet repasts,  
 Nor other home, nor other care intend,

But quits his house, his country, and his friends. *Pope.*

Or as Mr. Thyer conceives, it might possibly be suggested to Milton by Spenser in his bower of bliss, where relating how the Palmer restored to human shape those whom *Acrasia* had changed into beasts, he says, b. ii. cant. xii. st. 86.

But one above the rest in special,  
 That had an hog been late (height  
 Grill by name)

Repined greatly, and did him mis-  
 call,

That had from hoggish form him  
 brought to natural.

75. *But boast themselves*] He certainly alludes to that fine

satire in a dialogue of Plutarch, *Opp.* tom. ii. Francof. fol. 1620. p. 985. where some of Ulysses's companions, disgusted with the vices and vanities of human life, refuse to be restored by Circe into the shape of men. *Dr. J. Warton.*

Or, perhaps, to J. Baptista Gelli's Italian Dialogues, called *Circe*, formed on Plutarch's plan. *T. Warton.*

78. —*when any favour'd of high Jove*] Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 129.

—*Pauci quos æquus amavit  
 Jupiter—*

78. The *Spirit in Comus* is the *Satyre* in Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*. He is sent by Pan to guide shepherds passing through a forest by moonlight, and to protect innocence in distress. A. iii. s. 1. vol. iii. p. 145.

But to my charge. Here must I stay  
 To see what mortals lose their way,  
 And by a false fire, seeming bright,  
 Train them in, and set them right:  
 Then must I watch if any be  
 Forcing of a chastity;  
 If I find it, then in hast  
 I give my wreathed horn a blast,  
 And the Faeries all will run, &c.

See also above, v. 18. Where our Spirit says,

But to my task.

*T. Warton.*

Swift as the sparkle of a glancing star 80  
 I shoot from heav'n, to give him safe convoy,  
 As now I do: but first I must put off  
 These my sky robes spun out of Iris' woof,

80. *Swift as the sparkle of a glancing star*] Minerva in her descent in the fourth Iliad appeared to the Grecian host like one of those *glancing stars* which Homer hath distinguished by its *emitting sparkles* in its flight, ver. 75.

Οἷος ὅστις ἴαι Κρονὸς παῖς ἀγκυλο-  
 μαντιῶ,  
 ἢ ταυτοῖσι νεφέαι, πρὶ σφραγῆσι τοῦ λαοῦ.  
 Δαρπυροῖ' τοῦ δὲ τι πολλὰ αὐτὸ σπινθήρις  
 ἵσταται.  
 Τῶν ἡμεῖς οὕτως ἐστὶ χροῖα Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.

These lights were accounted in the Pagan theology the *nimbus* or *glory* of some deity descending. Servius on Virgil, *Æn.* v. 693. ii

—et de cælo lapsa per umbras  
 Stella facem ducens multa cum luce  
 cucurrit.

Nunc theologiam rationem sequitur, [Poeta scil.] quæ adserit flammæ quos cernimus tractus, *nimbus esse descendentiæ nûminis*. Calton.

There are few finer comparisons that lie in so small a compass. The angel Michael thus descends in Tasso, *Stella cader*, &c. ix. 62. Milton has repeated the thought in P. L. iv. 555.

Thither came Uriel, gliding through  
 the even

On a sun-beam, swift, as a shooting  
 star

In autumn thwarts the night, when  
 vapours fir'd  
 Impress the air, &c.

Where the additional or conse-

quential circumstances heighten and illustrate the shooting star, and therefore contribute to convey a stronger image of the descent of Uriel. But the poet there speaks: and in this address of the Spirit, any adjunctive digressions of that kind, would have been improper and without effect. I know not, that the idea of the rapid and dazzling descent of a celestial being is intended to be impressed in Homer's comparison of the descent of Minerva, applied by the commentators to this passage of *Comus*. See *Il.* iv. 74. The star to which Minerva is compared, emits sparkles, but is stationary; it does not fall from its place. It is a bright portentous meteor, alarming the world. And its sparkles, which are only accompaniments, are not so introduced as to form the ground of a similitude. Shakespeare has the same thought, but with a more complicated allusion, in *Venus and Adonis*, edit. 1596. Signat. C. iij. It is where Adonis suddenly starts from Venus in the night.

Looke how a bright star shooteth from  
 the skie,  
 So glides he in the night from Venus'  
 eye.

T. Warton.

83 —*spun out of Iris' woof,*]  
 See *Paradise Lost*, xi. 244.

—Iris had dipp'd the woof.

And take the weeds and likeness of a swain,  
 That to the service of this house belongs, 85  
 Who with his soft pipe, and smooth-dittied song,  
 Well knows to still the wild winds when they roar,  
 And hush the waving woods, nor of less faith,  
 And in this office of his mountain watch,  
 Likeliest, and nearest to the present aid 90  
 Of this occasion. But I hear the tread  
 Of hateful steps, I must be viewless now.

Comus enters with a charming rod in one hand, his glass in the other; with him a rout of monsters, headed like sundry sorts of wild beasts, but otherwise like men and women, their apparel glistening; they come in making a riotous and unruly noise, with torches in their hands.

## COMUS.

The star that bids the shepherd fold,  
 Now the top of heav'n doth hold,

86. *Who with his soft pipe, &c.]* These three lines were designed as a compliment to Mr. H. Lawes, who acted the attendant Spirit himself. *Warburton.*

See the *Preliminary Notes.* Lawes himself, no bad poet, in "A pastoral Elegie to the memory of his brother William," applies the same compliment to his brother's musical skill.

—He could allay the murmurs of  
 the wind;  
 He could appease  
 The sullen seas,  
 And calme the fury of the winds.

See "*Choice Psalms* put into musick, &c. By H. and W. Lawes, &c. Lond. 1648." To this book is prefixed Milton's Sonnet to H. Lawes. I have

mentioned Lawes's verses prefixed to Cartwright's Poems. And he wrote a poem also in praise of Dr. Wilson, King Charles's favourite lutenist, prefixed to Wilson's *Psalterium Carolinum*, &c. fol. 1657. *T. Warton.*

90. *Likeliest, and nearest to the present aid]* In Milton's Manuscript it stands *Nearest and likeliest to &c.* It was at first, to give present aid; and virgin steps, which was altered to *hateful steps.* Then follows in the Manuscript *Goes out.* And the title of the following scene runs thus. *Comus enters with a charming rod and glass of liquor, with his rout all headed like some wild beasts, their garments some like men's and some like women's; they come on*



And the gilded car of day 95  
 His glowing axle doth allay  
 In the steep Atlantic stream,  
 And the slope sun his upward beam  
 Shoots against the dusky pole,  
 Pacing toward the other goal 100  
 Of his chamber in the east.  
 Meanwhile welcome Joy, and Feast,  
 Midnight Shout and Revelry,  
 Topsy Dance and Jollity,  
 Braid your locks with rosy twine, 105  
 Dropping odours, dropping wine.  
 Rigour now is gone to bed,  
 And Advice with scrupulous head,

in a wild and antic fashion. *In-  
 trant καμαζερνς.*

93. *The star that bids the shep-  
 herd fold,]* A pastoral way of  
 counting time. So Virgil, *Ecl.*  
*vi. 85.*

*Cogere donec oves stabulis numerum-  
 que referre  
 Jussit, et invito processit Vesper  
 Olympo.*

and Georg. iv. 434.

*Vesper ubi e pastu vitulos ad tecta  
 reducit.*

93. Shakespeare calls the morn-  
 ing-star, the unfolding star. *Meas.*  
*for Meas. a. iv. s. 3. T. Warton.*

97. *In the steep Atlantic stream]*  
 So altered in the Manuscript  
 from *Tartarean stream.*

99 —*the dusky pole,]* In the  
 Manuscript it is northern: *dusky*  
 is the marginal reading.

100. *Pacing toward the other  
 goal  
 Of his chamber in the east.]*

In allusion to the same kind of  
 metaphors employed by the  
 Psalmist, xix. 5. *The sun as a  
 bridegroom cometh out of his cham-  
 ber, and rejoiceth as a strong man  
 to run a race.*

105. *Braid your locks with rosy  
 twine,  
 Dropping odours, dropping  
 wine.]*

This is perfectly in the spirit  
 and manner of Anacreon, who  
 used to be crowned with roses,  
 and anointed with sweet oint-  
 ments, while he was drinking.  
*Od. 5.*

*Το ῥόδον το καλλυφαλλον  
 Κρεταφισει αρμοσσαντι  
 Πικριον ἄβρα γιλοντις.*

And again *Od. 15.* and in other  
 places.

*Εροι μιλν μυριαι  
 Καταβριχας ὑπαινη  
 Εροι μιλν ῥοδων  
 Κατασπιφνι παρρη.*

108. *And Advice with scrupu-*

Strict Age, and sour Severity  
 With their grave saws in slumber lie. 110  
 We that are of purer fire  
 Imitate the starry quire,  
 Who in their nightly watchful spheres,  
 Lead in swift round the months and years.  
 The sounds and seas, with all their finny drove, 115  
 Now to the moon in wavering morrice move;  
 And on the tawny sands and shelves  
 Trip the pert fairies and the dapper elves.  
 By dimpled brook, and fountain brim,  
 The wood-nymphs deck'd with daisies trim, 120  
 Their merry wakes and pastimes keep:  
 What hath night to do with sleep?

*lous head,]* It was at first in the Manuscript,

*And quick Law with her scrupulous head.*

108. The MS. reading is the best. It is not the essential attribute of *Advice* to be scrupulous; but it is of *quick law*, or *watchful law*, to be so. *Warburton*.

It was however in character for Comus to call *advice*, *scrupulous*. It was his business to depreciate *advice* at the expense of truth. *T. Warton*.

110. *With their grave saws]* *Saws*, sayings, maxims. So *Shakespeare*, As you like it, act ii. sc. 9.

Full of wise *saws*.

*Hamlet*, act i. sc. 8.

I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,  
 All *saws* of books.

114. *Lead in swift round]* It was first written, *Lead with swift round*.

116. —in *wavering morrice*

*move;]* The *morrice* or Moorish dance was first brought into England, as I take it, in Edward the Third's time, when John of Gaunt returned from Spain, where he had been to assist his father-in-law, Peter king of Castile, against Henry the Bastard. *Peck*.

In the *Morgante Maggiore* of Pulci, we have "*Balli alla morrese*," which he gives to the age of Charlemagne. Cant. iv. 92. *T. Warton*.

117. *And on the tawny sands]* So altered in the Manuscript from *yellow sands*.

118. *Trip the pert faeries]* See the note, *Comus*, 961. *E*.

119. —*fountain brim]* This was the pastoral language of Milton's age. So *Drayton*, *Bar. W.* vi. 36. and *Warner's Albion's England*, b. ix. 46. We have *ocean-brim* in *P. L.* v. 140. *T. Warton*.

Night hath better sweets to prove,  
 Venus now wakes, and wakens Love.  
 Come let us our rites begin, 125  
 'Tis only day-light that makes sin,  
 Which these dun shades will ne'er report.  
 Hail Goddess of nocturnal sport,  
 Dark-veil'd Cotytto, t' whom the secret flame  
 Of midnight torches burns; mysterious dame, 130  
 That ne'er art call'd, but when the dragon womb  
 Of Stygian darkness spits her thickest gloom,  
 And makes one blot of all the air,  
 Stay thy cloudy ebon chair,  
 Wherein thou rid'st with Hecat', and befriend 135  
 Us thy vow'd priests, till utmost end  
 Of all thy dues be done, and none left out,

125. *Night hath better*] In the Manuscript *Night has better*.

129. *Dark-veil'd Cotytto*,] The Goddess of impudence, originally a strumpet, had midnight sacrifices at Athens. She is here therefore very properly said to be *dark-veil'd*. Her *dues* or rites were called *Cotyttia*, and her priests *Baptae*; because they, who were initiated into her mysteries, were sprinkled with warm water. See Peck, and Juvenal ii. 91.

*Talia secreta coluerunt orgia tædæ  
 Cecropiam soliti Baptæ lassare Co-  
 tytto.*

131. —*the dragon womb*] Alluding to the *dragons* of the night. See *Il Penseroso* 59.

132. —*spits her thickest gloom*,] So Drayton of an exhalation or cloud. *Bar. W.* ii. 35. without a familiar or low sense.

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*Spelteth his lightning forth.*

And Spenser has, *fire-spitting forge*, *F. Q.* ii. viii. 3. *T. Warton*.

133. *And makes one blot of all the air*,] In the Manuscript he had first written *And makes a blot of nature*, and afterwards *And throws a blot o'er all the air*, and then corrected it as it stands at present.

134. *Stay thy cloudy ebon chair, &c.*] In the Manuscript these lines at first run thus,

*Stay thy polish'd ebon chair,  
 Till all thy dues be done, and nought  
 left out.*

Afterwards these lines were added in the margin,

*Wherein thou rid'st with Hecate,  
 And favour our close jocondrie,*

and then altered to what they are at present.

D

Ere the blabbing eastern scout,  
 The nice morn on th' Indian steep  
 From her cabin'd loophole peep,  
 And to the tell-tale sun descry  
 Our conceal'd solemnity.  
 Come, knit hands, and beat the ground  
 In a light fantastic round.

140

139. —*nice morn*] A finely chosen epithet, expressing at once *curious* and *squeamish*. Hurd.

140. *From her cabin'd loophole peep,*] So appearing to them who see the morning break from the midst of a wood, at *loopholes* cut through thickest shade. *Paradise Lost*, ix. 1110. Cantic. vi. 10. *Who is she that looketh forth as the morning?* Richardson.

Milton here perhaps imitated Fletcher's beginning of his fifth act of the *Faithful Shepherdess*.

\* See the blushing morn doth peep  
 Through the window, while the sun,  
 &c.

140. —*cabin'd*] Rather *cabin's*. Comus is describing the morning contemptuously, as it was unwelcome and unfriendly to his secret revels. Compare also Drayton, *Mus. Elyz.* ed. 1630. p. 22.

The sun out of the east doth peep, &c.  
*T. Warton.*

141. —*the tell-tale sun*] This epithet alludes to the fable of the sun's discovering Mars and Venus together, and *telling tales* to Vulcan. *Odyss.* viii. 302.

ἡλίου γὰρ εἰς ἐνοπίου ἰχθύος, καὶ τοῦ μύθου.

143. Come, knit hands, and  
 beat the ground  
 In a light fantastic round.]

This sufficiently explains what is meant by *the measure* following; which, says Mr. Peck, is an old way of expression for the *dance*, as in Shakespeare, *King Henry VIII.* act i. sc. 7.

Good, my Lord Cardinal, I have half  
 a dozen healths  
 To drink to these fair ladies, and a  
*measure*  
 To lead them once again; and then  
 let's dream  
 Who's best in favour.

In Milton's Manuscript the last line was thus at first,

*With a light and frolic round.*

And then follows, *The measure in a wild, rude, and wanton antic.*

143. Compare Fletcher, *Faithful Shepherdess*, a. i. s. 1.

*Arm in arm*  
 Tread we softly in a round,  
 While the hollow neighbouring  
 ground, &c.

And Jonson, in his *Masques*.

In motions swift and meet  
 The happy ground to beat.

And Shakespeare, *Mids. N. Dr.* a. iv. s. 1.

Sound music, Come, my queen, take  
 hand with me,  
 And rock the ground whereon these  
 sleepers be.

*T. Warton.*

*The Measure.*

Break off, break off, I feel the different pace 145  
 Of some chaste footing near about this ground.  
 Run to your shrouds, within these brakes and trees;  
 Our number may affright: some virgin sure  
 (For so I can distinguish by mine art)  
 Benighted in these woods. Now to my charms, 150  
 And to my wily trains; I shall ere long  
 Be well-stock'd with as fair a herd as graz'd  
 About my mother Circe. Thus I hurl  
 My dazzling spells into the spungy air,  
 Of pow'r to cheat the eye with blear illusion, 155  
 And give it false presentments, lest the place  
 And my quaint habits breed astonishment,  
 And put the damsel to suspicious flight,  
 Which must not be for that's against my course;

145. —*I feel the different pace*  
 &c.] The following lines be-  
 fore they were altered in the  
 Manuscript run thus,

—I hear the different pace  
 Of some chaste footing near about  
 this ground.  
 Some virgin sure benighted in these  
 woods;  
 For so I can distinguish by mine art.  
 Run to your shrouds within these  
 brakes and trees;  
 Our number may affright.

And in the margin is written,  
*They all scatter.*

151. —*wily trains;*] Rightly  
 altered from what he had first  
 written in his Manuscript,

—Now to my trains,  
 And to my mother's charms—

for the charms described are not  
 from the classical pharmacopœa,  
 but the Gothic. Warburton.

153. —*Thus I hurl* &c.] The  
 lines following were thus in the  
 Manuscript at first.

*My powder'd spells into the spungy*  
*air*  
*Of pow'r to cheat the eye with sleight*  
*(or blind) illusion,*  
*And give it false presentments, else*  
*the place &c.*

153. —*Thus I hurl*  
*My dazzling spells into the*  
*spungy air.]*

B. Fletcher, *Faith. Shep.* act iii.  
 s. 1.

I strew these herbs to purge the air:  
 Let your odour drive from hence  
 All mists that dazzle sense, &c.

Compare Par. L. viii. 457. T.  
 Warlon.

157. —*quaint*] See notes,  
*Sams. Agon.* 1303. and *Arcades*,  
 47. T. Warlon.

I under fair pretence of friendly ends, 160  
 And well plac'd words of glozing courtesy  
 Baited with reasons not unplausible,  
 Wind me into the easy-hearted man,  
 And hug him into snares. When once her eye  
 Hath met the virtue of this magic dust, 165  
 I shall appear some harmless villager,  
 Whom thrift keeps up about his country gear.  
 But here she comes, I fairly step aside,  
 And hearken, if I may, her business here.

*The Lady enters.*

This way the noise was, if mine ear be true, 170

161. —words of glozing courtesy]

Flattering, deceitful; as in Par. L. iii. 95. "glozing lies." iv. 549. "so gloz'd the tempter." The word occurs in Spenser, Marlow, Lilly, Shakespeare. T. Warton.

164. And hug him into snares.] So corrected in the Manuscript from

And hug him into nets.

164. —when once her eye Hath met the virtue of this magic dust,]

This refers to the MS. reading of v. 154. my powdered spells. T. Warton.

167. Whom thrift keeps up about his country gear.] Here is a strange mistake in the edition of the poems printed in 1673, which has implicitly been followed in some other editions. This whole verse is omitted, and the two following are transposed thus,

I shall appear some harmless villager,

And hearken, if I may, her business here.

But here she comes, I fairly step aside.

We have restored the true reading according to the author's Manuscript, and according to the first edition of the Mask in 1637, and according to the first edition of the Poems in 1645. The last line in some editions is varied thus,

And hearken, if I may, her business here.

But Milton's own is much properer and better,

And hearken, if I may, her business here.

168. —fairly] That is, softly. Hurd. "Fair and softly" were two words which went together, signifying gently. The corpse of Richard II. was conveyed in a litter through London, "faire and softly." Froissart, p. ii. ch. 249. T. Warton.

170. —if mine ear] Manuscript, if my ear.

My best guide now; methought it was the sound  
 Of riot and ill manag'd merriment,  
 Such as the jocund flute, or gamesome pipe  
 Stirs up among the loose unletter'd hinds,  
 When for their teeming flocks, and granges full, 175  
 In wanton dance they praise the bounteous Pan,  
 And thank the Gods amiss. I should be loath  
 To meet the rudeness, and swill'd insolence  
 Of such late wassailers; yet O where else  
 Shall I inform my unacquainted feet 180

173.—*gamesome pipe*] "*Game-  
 some mood*." Par. L. vi. 620.  
 Drayton has the word, *Ecl.* ii.  
 and *Ecl.* vii. T. Warton.

175.—*granges full*] The Manuscript had at first *garners*, which was altered with judgment. Two rural scenes of festivity are alluded to, the spring [*teeming flocks*], and the autumn [*granges full*], sheep-shearing and harvest-home. But the time when the *garners* are full is in winter, when the corn is thrashed. Warburton.

179. *Of such late wassailers;*] An ingenious author, who should best know the force of English words, as he is employed in drawing up an English dictionary, gives this account of the origin of the word *wassailer*. *Hail or heil for health* was in such continual use among the good-fellows of ancient times, that a drinker was called a *was-heiler* or a *wisher of health*, and the liquor was termed *was-heil*, because *health* was so often wished over it. Thus in the lines of Hanvil the monk,

*Jamque vagante scypho, discincto  
 gutture was-heil,  
 Ingeminant was-heil: labor est plus  
 perdere vinl  
 Quam sitis.*

These words were afterwards corrupted into *wassail* and *wassailer*. See Miscellaneous Observations on Macbeth, p. 41. So Shakespeare in Hamlet, act i. sc. 7.

The king doth wake to night, and  
 takes his route,  
 Keeps wassail, &c.

179. In some parts of England, especially in the west, it is still customary for a company of mummers, in the evenings of the Christmas-holidays, to go about carousing from house to house, who are called the *wassailers*. Compare Fletcher's *Faithf. Shep.* act v. s. 1. Selden mentions the "yearly *was-haile* in the country, "on the vigil of the new year." Notes on *Polyolb.* s. ix. vol. iii. p. 838. Compare *Love's Lab. Lost*, act v. s. ii. and Jonson, *Masques*, vol. vi. 3. T. Warton.

180. *Shall I inform my unacquainted feet, &c.*] The expres-

In the blind mazes of this tangled wood?  
 My brothers, when they saw me wearied out  
 With this long way, resolving here to lodge  
 Under the spreading favour of these pines,  
 Stepp'd, as they said, to the next thicket side 185  
 To bring me berries, or such cooling fruit  
 As the kind hospitable woods provide.  
 They left me then, when the gray-hooded Even,

sion *unacquainted feet* is a little hard. *Hurd.*

Compare *Sams. Agon.* 335.

—Hither hath inform'd  
 Your younger feet.

And with *tangled wood*, v. 181. compare *Par. L.* iv. 176. "*gling bushes had perplex'd*;" and *Pr. W.* i. 13. "the dark, the bushy, the *tangled forest*." *T. Warton.*

181. *In the blind mazes of this tangled wood?*] In the Manuscript it was at first

In the blind *alleys* of this *arched wood*.

184. *Under the spreading favour of these pines.*] This is like Virgil's "*Hospitii teneat frondentibus arbos.*" *Georg.* iv. 24. An inversion of the same sort occurs in Cicero, in a Latin version from Sophocles's *Trochinia*, of the shirt of Nessus. *Tusc. Disp.* ii. 8.

*Ipse insignatus peste interior testili.*  
*T. Warton.*

185. *To bring me berries, or such cooling fruit*

*As the kind hospitable woods provide.*]

So Fletcher, *Faith. Shep.* act i. s. 1. vol. iii. p. 105. Where, says the virgin-shepherdess Clorin,

My meat shall be what these wild woods afford,  
*Berries*, and chestnuts, plantanes on whose cheeks  
 The sun sits smiling, and the lofty fruit  
 Pull'd from the fair head of the straight-grown-pine.

By laying the scene of his *Mask* in a wild forest, Milton secured to himself a perpetual fund of picturesque description, which, resulting from situation, was always at hand. He was not obliged to go out of his way for this striking embellishment: it was suggested of necessity by present circumstances. The same happy choice of scene supplied Sophocles in *Philoctetes*; Shakespeare in *As you like it*, and Fletcher in the *Faithful Shepherdess*, with frequent and even unavoidable opportunities of rural delineation, and that of the most romantic kind. But Milton has additional advantages: his forest is not only the residence of a magician, but is exhibited under the gloom of midnight. Fletcher, however, to whom Milton is confessedly indebted, avails himself of the latter circumstance. *T. Warton.*



Like a sad votarist in palmer's weed,  
 Rose from the hindmost wheels of Phœbus' wain. 190  
 But where they are, and why they came not back,  
 Is now the labour of my thoughts; 'tis likeliest  
 They had engag'd their wand'ring steps too far,  
 And envious darkness, ere they could return,  
 Had stole them from me; else O thievish Night 195  
 Why should'st thou, but for some felonious end,

189. *Like a sad votarist in palmer's weed,*] A palmer is a pilgrim, bearing branches of palm from the Holy Land, whither he made a vow to go, and is therefore called *votarist in palmer's weed*; and so Spenser, *Faery Queen*, b. ii. cant. i. st. 52.

—I wrap myself in *palmer's weed*.

In Milton's Manuscript it is *weeds*. *Paradise Regained*, iv. 426.

—till morning fair  
 Came forth with pilgrim steps in  
*amice gray*.

190. —*of Phœbus' wain.*] In the Manuscript it was at first

—*of Phœbus' char.*

192. —*likeliest*] Milton is fond of this superlative. See *Par. L.* vi. 688. ix. 414. ii. 525. iii. 659. *Likest* also occurs frequently. See below, v. 237. and *Par. L.* ii. 756. iii. 572. vi. 501. ix. 394. *T. Warton*.

193. *They had engag'd &c.*] These two lines ran thus at first in the Manuscript,

They had engag'd their youthful steps  
 too far  
*To the soon-parting light; and en-*  
*vious darkness, &c.*

195. *Had stole them from me;*] In the Manuscript, and in the first edition of 1637, it is *stolne*.

195. —*else O thievish Night &c.*] This is extremely low in the midst of a speech of so much gravity and dignity. But the candid reader will impute it, no doubt, to our poet's condescension to that prevailing fondness for this kind of false wit about the time in which he wrote. *Thyer*.

I suppose Dr. Dalton was of the same opinion, for he has omitted these lines in *Comus*, as he adapted it for the stage.

195. Ph. Fletcher's *Pisc. Ecl.* p. 34. ed. 1633.

—The *thievish night*  
*Steals on the world, and robs our*  
*eyes of light.*

In the present age, in which almost every common writer avoids palpable absurdities, at least monstrous and unnatural conceits, would Milton have introduced this passage? Certainly not. But in the present age, correct and rational as it is, had *Comus* been written, we should not perhaps have had some of the greatest beauties of its wild and romantic imagery. *T. Warton*.

In thy dark lanthorn thus close up the stars,  
 That nature hung in heav'n, and fill'd their lamps  
 With everlasting oil, to give due light  
 To the misled and lonely traveller? 200  
 This is the place, as well as I may guess,  
 Whence even now the tumult of loud mirth  
 Was rife, and perfect in my list'ning ear,  
 Yet nought but single darkness do I find.  
 What might this be? A thousand fantasies 205  
 Begin to throng into my memory,  
 Of calling shapes, and beck'ning shadows dire,  
 And airy tongues, that syllable men's names

199. —to give due light] He had first written in the Manuscript *their light*.

203. —*rife*,] See the note, Par. L. i. 650. *E*.

205. —*A thousand fantasies Begin to throng into my memory, &c.*]

Milton perhaps here remembered Shakespeare, *K. John*, act v. s. 7.

With many legions of strange fantasies,  
 Which in their throng and press to  
 that last hold  
 Confound themselves.

*T. Warton.*

207. *Of calling shapes, &c.*] This is perfectly agreeable to the superstitious notions of that age, and to the manner of his master Shakespeare: and so Fletcher in the Faithful Shepherdess, act i. speaks

Of voices calling in the dead of night:  
 and Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 460.

*Hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis  
 Visa viri, nox cum terras obscura  
 teneret.*

207. These superstitions, which are here finely applied, may be found in the ancient Voyages of Marco Paolo the Venetian. He is speaking of the vast and perilous desert of Lop in Asia. *De Regionib. Oriental.* lib. i. c. xlv. These fancies, from Marco Paolo, are adopted in Heylin's *Cosmographie*. See lib. iii. p. 201. ed. 1652. fol. And from Heylin Milton seems to have gleaned his intelligence in Par. L. iii. 437, (where see the note.) Sylvester also has the tradition in the text, in *Du Bartas*, ed. fol. p. 274.

And round about the desert Lop,  
 where oft  
 By strange phantasmas passengers  
 are scot.

*T. Warton.*

208. —*that syllable men's names*] The Manuscript had first *that lure night-wanderers*; the other is the marginal reading.

208. *Syllable*, pronounce distinctly. As in Ph. Fletcher's *Poet. Miscel.* "Yet syllabled in

On sands, and shores, and desert wildernesses.  
 These thoughts may startle well, but not astound 210  
 The virtuous mind, that ever walks attended  
 By a strong siding champion, Conscience.—  
 O welcome pure-ey'd Faith, white-handed Hope,  
 Thou hovering Angel girt with golden wings,  
 And thou unblemish'd form of Chastity; 215  
 I see ye visibly, and now believe  
 That he, the Supreme Good, t' whom all things ill  
 Are but as slavish officers of vengeance;  
 Would send a glist'ring guardian if need were  
 To keep my life and honour unassail'd. 220  
 Was I deceiv'd, or did a sable cloud

"flesh-spell'd characters." T. Warton.

214. *Thou hovering angel &c.*] In the edition of 1637 it was *flitting*: and so was it at first in the Manuscript too, where the following lines were thus written at first, and afterwards corrected.

*And thou unspotted form of chastity;  
 I see ye visibly, and while I see ye  
 This dusky hollow is a Paradise,  
 And heav'n gates o'er my head: now  
 I believe &c.*

214. Thus in Shakespeare's *Lover's Complaint*, Malone's *Suppl.* i. p. 759.

*Which like a cherubim above them  
 hover'd.*

But *hovering* is here applied with peculiar propriety to the angel Hope. In sight, on the wing; and if not approaching, yet not flying away. Still appearing. Contemplation soars on golden wing, 11 Pens. v. 52. Mr. Bowle directs us to Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xiv. 80.

—Mossé  
*Con maggior fretta le dorate penne.*

And we have "that golden-winged  
 "host," in the *Ode on the Death  
 of an Infant*, st. ix. T. Warton.

215. *And thou unblemish'd form  
 of Chastity, &c.*] In the same  
 strain, Fletcher's *Shepherdess* in  
 the soliloquy just cited, *ibid.* p.  
 109.

—Then, strongest Chastity,  
 Be thou my strongest guard, for here  
 I'll dwell,  
 In opposition against fate and hell.  
 T. Warton.

215. —*unblemish'd form of  
 Chastity.*] May, of Rosamond in  
 her virgin state, *Henr. Sec. lib.* v.  
 edit. Lond. 1633. 12mo.

*When that unblemish'd forme, so  
 much admir'd, &c.*  
 T. Warton.

219. *Would send a glist'ring  
 guardian*] In the Manuscript it  
 was at first *cherub*.

221. *Was I deceiv'd, or did a  
 sable cloud &c.*] This presents us

Turn forth her silver lining on the night?

I did not err, there does a sable cloud

Turn forth her silver lining on the night,

And casts a gleam over this tufted grove.

225

I cannot halloo to my brothers, but

Such noise as I can make to be heard farthest

I'll venture, for my new enliven'd spirits

Prompt me; and they perhaps are not far off.

### SONG.

SWEET Echo, sweetest nymph, that liv'st unseen 230

Within thy airy shell,

with one of the noblest images in nature, and as beautifully expressed. The author seems to have been sensible of its charms, and has therefore contrived to repeat it; and so artfully, that the repetition adds a new grace to it. *Warburton*.

These lines are turned like that verse of Ovid, *Fast.* lib. v. 545.

Fallor? An arma sonant? Non fallimur: arma sonabant.

*Hurd.*

The repetition, arising from the conviction and confidence of an unaccusing conscience, is imitatively beautiful. See note on *El.* v. 5.

When all succour seems to be lost, heaven unexpectedly presents the silver lining of a sable cloud to the virtuous. *T. War-*

*ton.* 226. *I cannot halloo to my brothers, &c.*] So the jailor's daughter in *B. and Fletcher*,

benighted also and alone in a wood, whose character affords one of the finest female mad scenes in our language. *Two noble Kinsm.* act iii. s. 2. vol. x. p. 55. She is in search of Palamon.

*I cannot halloo, &c.*

—I have heard

Strange howls this live long night &c.

*T. Warton.*

229.—*are not far off.*] In the Manuscript it is

—*are not far hence.*

231. *Within thy airy shell,*] The horizon. *Warburton.*

The edition of this *Mask* with alterations for the stage hath *cell* instead of *shell*: but the common reading is much the best. The nymph is seated in a convex vehicle of air, which on account of its form is called a *testudo* or *shell*. And as all sound is communicated by the air, the poet hath very naturally assigned her this airy vehicle, whereby to

By slow Meander's margent green,  
 And in the violet-embroider'd vale,  
 Where the love-lorn nightingale  
 Nightly to thee her sad song mourneth well; 233  
 Canst thou not tell me of a gentle pair  
 That liketh thy Narcissus are?

receive and return its various impulses. *Testudo* or *shell* being a name also for a musical instrument, a lyre, which could give no sound but when it was struck upon, the word beautifully alludes to the nature of this vocal nymph;

—quæ nec reticere loquenti,  
 Nec prior ipsa loqui poterat resonabi-  
 lis Echo.

Ovid. Met. iii. 357. *Calton*.

I cannot but think *shell* the better word for the reasons assigned: but yet it may be said to justify Dr. Dalton's alteration, that Milton hath also written *cell* in the margin of his manuscript.

231. Certainly the true reading is *shell*, the *horizon*, which in another place he calls the *hollow round of Cynthia's seat*, Ode Nativ. st. x.

Nature that heard such sound  
 Beneath the hollow round  
 Of Cynthia's seat the airy region  
 thrilling.

That is, "such sound, piercing  
 "the airy region beneath the  
 "hollow circumference of the  
 "heavens." *Hurd*.

233. —*violet-embroider'd vale*,  
 This is a beautiful compound epithet, and the combination of the two words that compose it, natural and easy. Our poet has, in these his early poems, coined

many others, equally happy and significant: such as *love-darting eyes*, *amber-dropping*, *flowery-kirtled*, *low-roosted*, *snaky-headed*, *fiery-wheeled*, *white-handed*, *sin-worn*, *home-felt*, *rushy-fringed*, *pure-eyed*, *insel-stippered*. Dr. J. Warton.

See Peck for more instances, in *Mem. Milt.* p. 117. and compare *P. L.* iv. 700. And Browne's *Sheph. Pipe*, Egl. iv. Signat. D. 4. edit. 1614.

Metinkes no April showre  
 Embroider should the ground, &c.

The allusion is the same in *Lycidas*, v. 148.

And every flower that sad embroidery  
 wears.

*T. Warton.*

234. *Where the love-lorn nightingale*] Deprived of her mate. As *lass-lorn* in the *Tempest*, act iv. s. 2. *T. Warton*.

236. *Canst thou not tell me of  
 a gentle pair  
 That liketh thy Narcissus are?*  
 So Fletcher, *Faith. Shep.* act i.  
 s. 1. p. 117.

—*A gentle pair  
 Have promis'd equal love.*

Other petty borrowings of the same kind might be pointed out, which prove Milton's intimate familiarity with Fletcher's play. *T. Warton*.

# 44 POEMS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

O if thou have  
 Hid them in some flow'ry cave,  
 Tell me but where, 240  
 Sweet queen of parly, daughter of the sphere,  
 So may'st thou be translated to the skies,  
 And give resounding grace to all heav'n's harmonies.

## COMUS.

Can any mortal mixture of earth's mould

238. *O, if thou have  
 Hid them in some flow'ry cave.*  
 Here is a seeming inaccuracy for the sake of the rhyme. But the sense being hypothetical and contingent, we will suppose an ellipsis of *shouldest before have*. A verse in Saint John affords an apposite illustration. "If thou *have* born him hence, tell me *where* thou *hast* laid him." xx. 15. We find another instance below, v. 887.

And bridle in thy headlong wave,  
 Till thou our summons answer'd have.  
 In the mean time it must be allowed, that *thou* and *you* are absolutely synonymous. And see Bishop Lowth's *Grammar*, pp. 67, 68. edit. 1775. Mr. Steevens suggests, that part of the Address to the Sun which Southerne has put into the mouth of Oroonoko, is evidently copied from this passage.

Or if thy sister goddess has preferr'd  
 Her beauty to the skies to be a star,  
 Oh! tell me where she shines.

T. Warton.

241. —*daughter of the sphere,*  
 Milton has given her a much nobler and more poetical original than any of the ancient mythologists. He supposes her to

owe her first existence to the reverberation of the music of the spheres; in consequence of which he had just before called the horizon her *airy shell*. And from the Gods (like other celestial beings of the classical order) she came down to men. Warburton.

243. *And give resounding grace  
 to all heav'n's harmonies.* That is, "The grace of their being accompanied with an echo."

The goddess Echo was of peculiar service in the machinery of a Mask, and therefore often introduced. Milton has here used her much more rationally than most of his brother mask-writers. She is invoked in a song, but not without the usual tricks of surprising the audience by strange and unexpected repetitions of sound, in Browne's *Inner Temple Masque*, to which I have supposed our author might have had an eye, p. 136. She often appears in Jonson's masks. This frequent introduction, however, of Echo in the masks of his time, seems to be ridiculed even by Jonson himself in *Cynthia's Revels*, act i. s. 1. This play was first acted in 1600. T. Warton.

244 *Can any mortal mixture*

Breathe such divine enchanting ravishment? 245  
 Sure something holy lodges in that breast,  
 And with these raptures moves the vocal air  
 To testify his hidden residence:  
 How sweetly did they float upon the wings  
 Of Silence, through the empty-vaulted night, 250  
 At every fall smoothing the raven down  
 Of darkness till it smil'd! I have oft heard

&c.] Before these words there is in the manuscript, *Comus looks in and speaks.*

244. *Can any mortal mixture of earth's mould*

*Breathe such divine enchanting ravishment?*]

This was plainly personal. The poet availed himself of an opportunity of paying a just compliment to the voice and skill of a real songstress. So the boys are complimented for their beauty and elegance of figure. And, afterwards, the strains that "might create a soul under the ribs of death," are found to be the voice "of my most honour'd Lady," v. 564. *T. Warton.*

246. *Sure something holy lodges in that breast,*

*And with these raptures moves the vocal air*

*To testify his hidden residence:]*

That is, "Something holy inhabiting that breast, courts the air, the vehicle of sound, to give it utterance, to discover the latent source of its residence, by means of these ravishing notes." *T. Warton.*

249. *How sweetly did they float]* That is, "these raptures." The effect for the cause. *T. Warton.*

249. *How sweetly did they float upon the wings*

*Of Silence,]*

This is extremely poetical, and insinuates this sublime idea and imagery, that even Silence herself was content to convey her mortal enemy, Sound, on her wings, so greatly was she charmed with its harmony. *Warburton.*

251. *At every fall smoothing the raven down*

*Of darkness till it smil'd!]*

The poetical essence of darkness is to frown.—But what we are to suppose afforded this fine image to Comus, is that sable cloud, which the Lady says just at that time turn'd forth her silver lining on the night. *Warburton.*

In the Manuscript, and in the edition of 1637, we read,

*Of darkness till she smil'd.*

252. — *I oft have heard My mother Circe, with the Sirens three,*

*Amidst the flow'ry-kirtled Naiades,*

*Culling their potent herbs and baleful drugs,*

*Who, as they sung, would take the prison'd soul, &c.]*

# 46 POEMS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

My mother Circe with the Sirens three,  
Amidst the flow'ry-kirtled Naiades

Originally from Ovid, *Metam.*  
xiv. 264. Of Circe.

Nereides, Nymphæque simul, quæ  
velleræ motis  
Nulla trahunt digitis, nec fila se-  
quentia ducunt,  
Gramina disponunt: sparsæque einc  
ordine flores  
Secernunt calathis, variæque colo-  
ribus herbas.  
Ipsa, quod hæc faciunt, opus exigit:  
ipsa quid usus  
Quoque sit in folio, quæ sit concordia  
mistis,  
Novit; et advertens penas examinat  
herbas.

See also *ibid.* v. 22, 34. Milton  
calls the Naiades *flowery-kirtled*,  
because they were employed in  
collecting flowers. But William  
Browne had just before preceded  
our author in this imitation from  
Ovid, in his *Inner Temple Masque*  
on the story of Circe, p. 143.

Call to a dance the fair Nereides,  
With other nymphs, which do in  
every creeke,  
In woods, on plains, on mountains,  
*simples seek,*  
For powerfull Circe, and let in a  
song, &c.

Here, in *simples*, we have our  
author's "potent herbs and  
"drugs." But see note on ver.  
50. It is remarkable, that Mil-  
ton has intermixed the Sirens  
with Circe's nymphs. Circe in-  
deed is a songstress in the *Odyss-*  
ey: but she has nothing to do  
with the Sirens. Perhaps Mil-  
ton had this also from Browne's  
*Masque*, where Circe uses the  
music of the Sirens in the pro-  
cess of her incantation, p. 134.

Then, Sirens, quickly wend me to  
the bowre,

To fittè their welcome, and shew  
Circe's powre.

Again, p. 13.

Syrens, ynough, cease: Circe has  
prevailed.

A single line of Horace perhaps  
occasioned this confusion of two  
distinct fables. *Epist.* i. ii. 23.

Sirenum voces et Circes pocula nosti.  
T. Warton.

254. *Amidst the flow'ry-kirtled  
Naiades &c.*] It appears by the  
Manuscript that this and the  
verse following were added after  
the rest in the margin. A *kirtle*  
is a woman's gown; a word used  
by Chaucer and Spenser, and  
Shakespeare in 2 Hen. IV. act ii.  
s. 11. And in one of his Son-  
nets,

A cap of flowers, and a kirtle  
Embroider'd all with leaves of myrtle.

254. In the pastoral writers of  
Milton's age and before, *kirtle* is a  
woman's gown; but it originally  
signified a man's garment, and,  
anciently, was most commonly so  
used. See Spenser, *F. Q.* i. iv.  
32. It was the name for the  
surcoat at the creation of Knights  
of the Garter. See Anstis, *Ord.*  
*Gart.* i. 317. In an original roll  
of the household expenses of  
Wykeham, Bp. of Winchester,  
dated 1394, is this entry. "In  
"furrura duarum curtellarum pro  
"Domino cum furrura agnina,  
"x. s." That is, for furring or  
facing two kirtles for my Lord  
with lambs' skin, 10s. T. War-  
ton.



Culling their potent herbs, and baleful drugs, 255  
 Who as they sung, would take the prison'd soul,  
 And lap it in Elysium; Scylla wept,  
 And chid her barking waves into attention,  
 And fell Charybdis murmur'd soft applause:  
 Yet they in pleasing slumber lull'd the sense, 260  
 And in sweet madness robb'd it of itself;  
 But such a sacred, and home-felt delight,  
 Such sober certainty of waking bliss  
 I never heard till now. I'll speak to her,  
 And she shall be my queen. Hail, foreign wonder, 265

256. — *would take the prison'd soul,*

*And lap it in Elysium;]*

Sublimely expressed to imply the binding up its rational faculties, and is opposed to the sober certainty of waking bliss. But the imagery is taken from Shakespeare, who has employed it, in praise of music, on twenty occasions. Warburton.

In the old play, the *Return from Parnassus*, 1606, act i. s. 2.

Sweet Constable doth take the wondering ear,  
 And lays it up in willing prisonment.

In *L'Allegro*, 136. Lap me in soft Lydian aires. We have "lapped in delight" in Spenser, Faery Q. v. vi. 6. Prisoned was more common than imprisoned. See B. and Fletcher's *Philaster*, and Shakespeare, passim. T. Warton.

257. — *Scylla wept,*

*And chid &c.]*

He had first written,

— *Scylla would weep*

And chide, then chiding her barking waves &c.

See *Paradise Lost*, ii. 660. and 1019. and the notes there.

257. Silius Italicus, of a Sicilian shepherd tuning his reed, *Bell. Pun.* xiv. 467.

*Scyllæ! tacuere canes, stetit atra Charybdis.*

The same situation and circumstances dictated a similar fiction or mode of expression to either poet. But Silius avoided the boldness, perhaps impropriety, of the last image in Milton. T. Warton.

265. — *Hail, foreign wonder,  
 Whom certain these rough shades  
 did never breed,*

*Unless the goddess, &c.]*

Thus Fletcher, *Faith. Shep.* act v. s. 1. vol. iii. p. 188.

— *What'er she be;*

Be'st thou her spirit, or some divinity,  
 That in her shape thinks good to  
 walk this grove.

But perhaps our author had an unperceived retrospect to the *Tempest*, act i. s. 2.

*Ferd.* Most sure the goddess  
 On whom these aires attend, —

Whom certain these rough shades did never breed,  
 Unless the goddess that in rural shrine  
 Dwell'st here with Pan, or Silvan, by blest song  
 Forbidding every bleak unkindly fog  
 To touch the prosp'rous growth of this tall wood. 270

LADY.

Nay, gentle shepherd, ill is lost that praise  
 That is address'd to unattending ears;  
 Not any boast of skill, but extreme shift  
 How to regain my sever'd company,  
 Compell'd me to awake the courteous Echo 275  
 To give me answer from her mossy couch.

COMUS.

What chance, good Lady, hath bereft you thus?

—My prime request,  
 Which I do last pronounce, is, O you  
 wonder,  
 If you be maid or no?

Where *nuid* is created being, a woman in opposition to goddess. *Comus* is universally allowed to have taken some of its tints from the *Tempest*. Compare the *Faerie Q.* iii. v. 36. ii. iii. 33. and B. and Fletcher's *Sea-voyage*, act ii. s. 1. And Ovid, where Salmacis first sees the boy Hermaphroditus, *Metam.* iv. 320.

—Puer, O dignissime credi  
 Esse Deus; seu tu deus es, potes esse  
 Cupido, &c.

And Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, b. i. s. 4. p. 70. Homer, in the address of Ulysses to Nausicaa, the father of true elegance as well as of true poetry, is the original author of this piece of gallantry, which could not escape the vigilance of Virgil. See *Arcades*, v. 44. T. Warton.

268. *Dwell'st here with Pan, &c.*] In the Manuscript he had written at first *Liv'st* here with Pan, &c. and see what he says of the Genius of the wood in *Arcades*, and compare it with this passage.

270. *To touch the prosp'rous growth of this tall wood.*] We see by the Manuscript with what judgment Milton corrected. And in this view the publication of it by the learned and ingenious Mr. Birch was very useful. In this line the Manuscript had *prospering*, which Milton with judgment altered to *prosperous*; for *tall wood* implies *full grown*, to which *prosperous* agrees, but *prospering* implies it not to be full grown. Warburton.

277, &c. Here is an imitation of those scenes in the Greek Tragedies, where the dialogue proceeds by question and answer, a single verse being

LADY.

Dim darkness, and this leafy labyrinth.

COMUS.

Could that divide you from near-ushering guides?

LADY.

They left me weary on a grassy turf. 280

COMUS.

By falsehood, or discourtesy, or why?

LADY.

To seek i' th' valley some cool friendly spring.

COMUS.

And left your fair side all unguarded, Lady?

LADY.

They were but twain, and purpos'd quick return.

COMUS.

Perhaps forestalling night prevented them. 285

LADY.

How easy my misfortune is to hit!

allotted to each. The Greeks, doubtless, found a grace in this sort of dialogue. As it was one of the characteristics of the Greek drama, it was natural enough for our young poet, passionately fond of the Greek tragedies, to affect this peculiarity. But he judged better in his riper years; there being no instance of this dialogue, I think, in his *Samson Agonistes*. Hurd.

279. —from *near-ushering guides* ?] He had written at first *from their ushering hands*; and in the next verse, *They left me wearied*. The first alteration seems to be better than the last.

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282. *To seek i' th' valley some cool friendly spring.*] This is a different reason from what she had assigned before, ver. 186.

To bring me berries, or such cooling fruit, &c.

They might have left her on both accounts.

285. *Perhaps forestalling night prevented them.*] So in *Shakespeare, Cymbal. act iii. s. 4.*

—may—  
This night forestall him of the coming day.

See the notes, P. L. x. 1024. T. Warton.

E

COMUS.

Imports their loss, beside the present need?

LADY.

No less than if I should my Brothers lose,

COMUS.

Were they of manly prime, or youthful bloom?

LADY.

As smooth as Hebe's their unrazor'd lips. 290

COMUS.

Two such I saw, what time the labour'd ox  
In his loose traces from the furrow came,

289. *Were they of manly prime,  
or youthful bloom?*] Were they  
young men or striplings? Prime  
is perfection.

Nature here wanton'd as in her prime.

P. L. v. 295. and xi. 245.

His starry helm unbuckled shew'd  
him prime

*In manhood, where youth ended.*

See the notes on P. L. iii. 636.  
T. Warton.

290. *As smooth as Hebe's their  
unrazor'd lips.*] Virgil, *Æn.* ix.  
181.

*Ora puer primâ signans intonsa ju-  
ventû.*

Richardson.

The unpleasant epithet *un-  
razor'd* has one much like it in  
the *Tempest*, act ii. s. 5.

—Till new-born chins  
Are rough and razorable.

T. Warton.

291. *Two such I saw, what time  
the labour'd ox &c.*] In the Ma-  
nuscript it is *Such two*: and the  
notation of time is in the pastoral  
manner, as in Virgil, *Ecl.* ii. 66.

*Aspice, arates jugo referunt suspensa  
juvenci:*

and in Horace, *Od.* iii. vi. 41.

—sol ubi montium

*Mutaret umbras, et juga demeret  
Bobus fatigatis.*

The Greeks have a single word  
that expresses the whole very  
happily, *Βουλντες* *tempus quo bo-  
ves solvuntur*, as in Homer, *Iliad*  
xvi. 779.

*Ἦμος ἔ παλιν μετινυσσεν βουλνντι.*

291. —the labour'd ox

*In his loose traces from the fur-  
row came.*]

This is classical. But the return  
of oxen or horses from the  
plough, is not a natural circum-  
stance of an English evening.  
In England the ploughman al-  
ways quits his work at noon.  
Gray, therefore, with Milton,  
painted from books and not from  
the life, where in describing the  
departing day-light he says,

The ploughman homeward plods his  
weary way.

The *smirk'd hedger's supper*, in

And the swink'd hedger at his supper sat;  
 I saw them under a green mantling vine  
 That crawls along the side of yon small hill, 295  
 Plucking ripe clusters from the tender shoots;  
 Their port was more than human, as they stood:  
 I took it for a faëry vision  
 Of some gay creatures of the element,  
 That in the colours of the rainbow live, 300  
 And play i' th' plighted clouds. I was awe-struck,

the next line, is from nature; and *hedger*, a word new in poetry, although of common use, has a good effect. *T. Warton.*

293. *And the swink'd hedger*] The *swink'd* hedger is the same as the *labour'd* ox, tired, fatigued. To *swink* is to work, to labour, as in Spenser's *Faery Queen*, b. ii. cant. vii. st. 8.

For which men *swink* and sweat incessantly.

297. *Their port was more than human, as they stood:*] We have followed the pointing of Milton's two editions in 1645 and 1673, which indeed we generally follow. The edition of 1637 points it otherwise,

Their port was more than human;  
 as they stood, &c.

and this is followed by Dr. Dalton. Milton's Manuscript has no pointing here to direct us.

297. We have much the same form of expression in the *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, v. 21.

And in his garland, as he stood,  
 Ye might discern a cypress bud.

See Acts Apost. xxii. 13, 14.  
 "One Adanias came unto me,

"and stood, and said unto me,  
 "&c."

Comus thus describes to the Lady the striking appearance of her Brothers; and after the same manner, in the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Milton's favourite Greek tragedian Euripides, a shepherd describes Pylades and Orestes to Iphigenia the sister of the latter, as preternatural beings and objects of adoration, v. 246.

Εἰσὶν οὖν ἄνθρωποι οὐδὲ τίς τις νῆπιος  
 Βρυχέβητος ἡμῶν, καὶ σιχηρῶς πάλιν,  
 Ἀχρεῖσι λακταλοῖσι περιβύσσῳ ἰχθῶς·  
 Ἐλίζε δ'· ὅσα ἱεῖται; δαίμονες τινὲς  
 Θασσύνου οὐδὲ. Θυσίῳ δ' ἡμῶν τις καὶ  
 Ἀνταχὶ χυρῶ, καὶ πρηνεῖσσι κείνου  
 Ὡς πῶτος καὶ ἡλιοδίας, καὶ φελαξ.  
 Διόσσιτα Παλαίμοι, —  
 Ἐπ' οὐτ' ἐν' αὐταῖς ἱερῶνται Διόσκου,  
 &c.

Compare note on v. 265. *T. Warton.*

299. *Of some gay creatures of the element,*] In the north of England this term is still made use of for the sky. *Thyer.*

301. *And play i' th' plighted clouds.*] By using *plighted* here, instead of the more common word *plaited*, an unpleasant consonance was avoided—and *play i' th' plaited clouds*. *Spenser*

And as I past, I worshipp'd ; if those you seek,  
It were a journey like the path to heaven,  
To help you find them.

LADY.

Gentle villager,

What readiest way would bring me to that place? 305

COMUS.

Due west it rises from this shrubby point.

LADY.

To find out that, good shepherd, I suppose,  
In such a scant allowance of star-light,  
Would overtask the best land-pilot's art,

hath *plight* for *plait* or *plaight*.  
Faery Queen, b. ii. cant. iii. st. 26

All in a sifken camus lilly white,  
Purified upon with many a *folded*  
*plight*:

and again, cant. vi. st. 7. *plight*  
is a participle for *plighted* or  
*platted*.

With gaudy garlands, or fresh flow-  
rets dight  
About her neck, or rings of rushes  
*plight*.

Calton.

The lustre of Milton's bril-  
liant imagery is half obscured,  
while *plight* remains unex-  
plained. We are to understand  
the *braided* or *embroidered*  
clouds: in which certain airy  
elemental beings are most poeti-  
cally supposed to sport, thus pro-  
ducing a variety of transient and  
dazzling colours, as our author  
says of the sun, *Par. L.* iv. 586.

Arraying with reflected purple and  
gold  
The clouds that on his western throne  
attend.

Chaucer, in the *Testament of Love*,  
has *plites* for *folde*. And *plite*,  
a verb to *fold*, *Tr. Cr.* ii. 1204.  
From this verb *plight*, imme-  
diately came Milton's *plighted*,  
which I do not remember in any  
other writer. The modern word  
is *plaited*. Of the same family  
is *pleached*, in *Much ado about*  
*Nothing*, act iii. s. 1.

And bid her steal into the *pleached*  
bower,  
Where honeysuckles, ripen'd by the  
sun,  
Forbid the sun to enter.

And in *Antony and Cleopatra*.  
And he has *impleached*, impli-  
cated, in his *Lover's Complaint*.  
*Mal. Suppl. Sh.* i. 752. *T. War-*  
*ton*.

304. *To help you find them.*] In the Manuscript he had written at first, *find them out*.

309. —overtask] So Sonn. xxii. 10. "*overply'd* in liberty's defence." Milton is fond of the compound with *over*. Various instances occur in *Par. Lost*; many, as here, of his own

Without the sure guess of well-practis'd feet. 310

## COMUS.

I know each lane, and every alley green,  
Dingle, or bushy dell of this wild wood,  
And every bosky bourn from side to side,

coinage. See *over-multitude*, below, v. 731. and Sonn. ix. 6. *over-ween*. Where see the note. T. Warton.

310. *Without the sure guess of—*] He altered the Manuscript, but he had written at first

*Without sure steering of—*

312. *Dingle, or bushy dell of this wild wood, &c.*] It was at first in the Manuscript *wide wood*. Here Mr. Seward imagines that Milton imitated Fletcher, Faithful Shepherdess, act iv.

—and since have crost

All these woods over, ne'er a nook or dell,

Where any little bird or beast doth dwell,

But I have sought him, ne'er a bending brow

Of any hill, or glade the wind sings through &c.

*Dingle*, according to Baily, is a narrow valley between two steep hills: Mr. Thyer of Manchester says, that the word is very commonly used in that part of the kingdom, and Ben Jonson has the word *dimble* in the same sense. *Dell* is used by Fletcher at the beginning of the Faithful Shepherdess, besides in the passage above quoted,

Nor the shrill pleasing sound of merry pipes

Under some shady dell:

And by Spenser in his Shepherd's Calendar, March, speaking of a sheep,

Fell headlong into a dell.

It plainly signifies a steep place or valley, and is much the same as *dale*. And every bosky bourn. *Bosky* is woody, from the Belgian *bosche* and the Italian *bosco* a wood, says Skinner. It is used by Shakespeare, Tempest, act iv. s. 3.

My bosky acres, and my unshrub'd down:

and 1 Hen. IV. act v. s. 1.

How bloodily the sun begins to peer  
Above you bushy [bosky] hill!

*Bourn* is bound or limit, from the French *borner*, and is thus used by Shakespeare, Tempest, act ii. s. 1.

*Bourn*, bound of land, till, vineyard, none.

Antony and Cleopatra, act i. s. 1.

I'll set a bourn how far to be belov'd.

Hamlet, act iii. s. 2.

That undiscover'd country, from  
whose bourn

No traveller returns—

And in Lear, Dover cliff is called *chalky bourn*, act iv. s. 6.

From the dread summit of this chalky bourn.

312. Drayton has *dingle* in his *Muses Elys. Nymph*. ii. vol. iv. p. 1455.

In dingles deep, and mountains bore.  
T. Warton.

313. *And every bosky bourn from side to side,*] A bourn, the

My daily walks and ancient neighbourhood;  
 And if your stray-attendants be yet lodg'd, 315  
 Or shroud within these limits, I shall know  
 Ere morrow wake, or the low-roosted lark  
 From her thatch'd pallat rouse; if otherwise  
 I can conduct you, Lady, to a low  
 But loyal cottage, where you may be safe 320  
 Till further quest.

LADY.

Shepherd, I take thy word,  
 And trust thy honest offer'd courtesy,  
 Which oft is sooner found in lowly sheds

sense of which in this passage has never been explained with precision, properly signifies here, a winding, deep, and narrow valley, with a rivulet at the bottom. In the present instance, the declivities are interspersed with trees and bushes. This sort of valley Comus knew from *side to side*. He knew *both* the *opposite sides* or ridges, and had consequently traversed the intermediate space. Such situations have no other name in the west of England at this day. In the waste and open countries, *bourns* are the grand separations or divisions of one part of the country from another, and are natural limits of districts and parishes. For *born* is simply nothing more than a boundary. As in the instances cited by Dr. Newton.

See Furetiere in *borne*, and Du Cange in *borna*, Lat. *Gloss.* In Saxon, *burn*, or *burna*, is a stream of water, as is *born* at present in some counties: and as rivers were the most distinguishable

aboriginal separations or divisions of property, might not the Saxon word give rise to the French *borne*? There is a passage in the *Faerie Queene*, where a river, or rather strait, is called a *bourne*, ii. vi. 10.

My little boate can safely passe this  
 perilous *bourne*.

But seemingly also with the sense of *division* or *separation*. For afterwards this *born* is styled a *shard*.

—When late he far'd  
 In Phedria's flitt barck over the per-  
 lous *shard*.

T. Warton.

316. *Or shroud within these limits,*] He had written at first  
 Within these *shroudie* limits—

321. *Till further quest.*] He had added in the Manuscript *be made*, but afterwards blotted it out,

Till further quest *be made*.

321. See note on Arcades, 34.  
 T. Warton.



With smoky rafters, than in tap'stry halls  
 And courts of princes, where it first was nam'd, 325  
 And yet is most pretended: in a place  
 Less warranted than this, or less secure,  
 I cannot be, that I should fear to change it.  
 Eye me, blest Providence; and square my trial  
 To my proportion'd strength. Shepherd, lead on. 330

## THE TWO BROTHERS.

## ELDER BROTHER.

Unmuffle ye faint stars, and thou fair moon,

324. *With smoky rafters,*] It was at first *And smoky rafters*. The sentiment here is the same as in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, cant. 14. st. 62. of the original, and 52 of Harrington's translation,

As courtesy oft times in simple bow'rs  
 Is found as great as in the stately  
 tow'rs.

324. —in *tap'stry halls*] The mode of furnishing halls or state-apartments with tapestry, had not ceased in Milton's time. Palaces, as adorned with tapestry, are here contrasted with *lowly sheds*, and *smoky rafters*. A modern poet would have written *stuccoed halls*. Shakespeare says of Lord Salisbury, *Second P. K. Henry VI.* act v. s. 3.

And like rich hangings in a homely  
 house,

So was his will in his old feeble body.

Compare Browne *Brit. Past.* b. i.  
 s. ii. p. 60.

Their *homely* cotes deck'd trim in low  
 degree,

As now the court with richest tapestry.

Hence Cowley may be illustrated,  
*Ode to Liberty*, st. iii.

To the false forest of a well-hung room  
 For honour and preferment come.

That is, "a room in the houses  
 "of the great, hung with tape-  
 "stry, the subject of which is  
 "some romantic story, and the  
 "scene a forest." And Shake-  
 speare in *Cymbel.* act iii. s. 4.

—I am richer than to hang by the  
 walls.

And B. and Fletcher, *Sea-royage*,  
 act i. s. 1.

You must not look for down beds  
 here, nor hangings.

T. Warton.

325. *And courts of princes*,  
*where it first was nam'd.*] This is  
 plainly taken from Spenser, *Faery*  
*Queen*, b. vi. cant. 1. st. 1.

Of court, it seems, men courtesy do  
 call,

For that it there most useth to abound.

329. —and square my trial]  
 The Manuscript had at first

—and square this trial;

and at the end of the speech is  
*Ereunt*, and at the beginning of  
 the next scene, *The two brothers*  
*enter*: and in the Manuscript  
 the two brothers are all along  
 distinguished by 1 Bro. and 2 Bro.

331. *Unmuffle ye faint stars,*]

E 4

That wont'st to love the traveller's benizon,  
 Stoop thy pale visage through an amber cloud,  
 And disinherit Chaos, that reigns here  
 In double night of darkness and of shades; 335  
 Or if your influence be quite damm'd up  
 With black usurping mists, some gentle taper,  
 Though a rush-candle from the wicker hole

*Muffle* was not so low a word as at present. Drayton, Browne, and Sylvester, have it in several places, and with the same application to the moon, or the stars. *T. Warlon.*

332. *That wont'st to love the traveller's benizon,*] An allusion to Spenser, Faery Queen, b. iii. cant. 1. st. 43.

As when fair Cynthia, in darksome night,  
 Is in a noxious cloud enveloped,  
 Where she may find the substance thin and light,  
 Breaks forth her silver beams, and her bright head  
 Discovers to the world discomfited;  
*Of the poor traveller that went astray,  
 With thousand blessings she is heried.*

333. *Stoop thy pale visage through an amber cloud,*] Popular or philosophical opinions have their use indifferently in poetry. And which soever it be, that affords the most beautiful image, whether that founded in the truth of things, or in the deceptions of sense, that is always to be preferred. But poets have neglected this obvious rule, and have run into two extremes. Those who affect to imitate the ancients only use the first, and those who affect to shew their superior knowledge, only the second. *Warburton.*

Compare B. and Fletcher's

*Maid's Tragedy*, in the Masque, act i. s. 1.

Bright Cynthia, hear my voice!  
 Appear, no longer thy pale visage shroud,  
 But strike thy silver horns quite through a cloud.

*Bowle.*

334. —*disinherit Chaos*] This expression should be animadverted upon, as hyperbolic and bombast. *Dr. J. Warton.*

335. *In double night, of darkness and of shades;*] See v. 580. and compare P. R. i. 500.

—————now began  
 Night with her sullen wings to double shade  
 The desert.

Mr. Bowle cites a line of Pacuvius, quoted by Cicero *De Divinat.* l. i. xiv.

*Tenebræ conduplicantur, noctisque et nimborum occæcal nigror.*

*T. Warton.*

We may also compare Ovid, *Met.* xi. 548.

———tantâ vertigine pontus  
 Fervet, et inductâ piccis a nubibus umbrâ  
 Omne latet cælum, duplicataque noctis imago est.

And *ibid.* 521.

*Cæcæque nox premitur tenebrisque hyemisque æniqut.*

*Dunster.*

Of some clay habitation, visit us  
With thy long levell'd rule of streaming light, 340  
And thou shalt be our star of Arcady,  
Or Tyrian Cynosure.

2. BROTHER.

Or if our eyes

Be barr'd that happiness, might we but hear  
The folded flocks penn'd in their wattled cotes,  
Or sound of past'ral reed with oaten stops, 345

340. *With thy long levell'd rule.*] It was at first in the Manuscript.

With a long levell'd rule—

340. *λαμπρα μεν ακτις, ἥλιον κα-  
λων σαφης.* Euripides, *Suppl. Mul.*  
650, or 660. Milton's *long-  
levell'd rule of streaming light*, is  
a fine and almost literal trans-  
lation of *ἥλιον καλον σαφης* of his  
favourite Greek poet. *Hurd.*

The sun is said to "level his  
evening rays," P. L. iv. 543. *T.*  
*Warton.*

341. —our star of Arcady,  
Or Tyrian Cynosure.]

Our greater or lesser bear-star.  
Calisto the daughter of Lycaon  
king of Arcadia was changed into  
the greater bear called also *Helice*,  
and her son Arcas into the lesser,  
called also *Cynosura*, by observing  
of which the Tyrians and Sidoni-  
ans steered their course, as the  
Grecian mariners did by the  
other. So Ovid. *Fast.* iii. 107.

*Esse duas Arctos; quarum Cynosura  
petatur*

*Sidonis, Helicen Graia carina notet.*

Valerius Flaccus, i. 17.

—neque enim in Tyrias Cynosura  
carinas

*Certior, aut Græcis Helice servanda  
magistria.*

The *star of Arcady* may be ex-  
plained to signify the lesser bear,  
and so Mr. Peck understands it :  
but Milton would hardly make  
use of two such different names  
for the same thing, and distin-  
guish them by the disjunctive *or*  
between them. The *star of Ar-  
cady*, like *Arcadium sidus*, may  
be a general name for the greater  
and the lesser bear, as in Seneca,  
*Cædip.* 476.

*Quasque despectat vertice summo  
Sidus Arcadium, geminumque plau-  
strum :*

but the following words of *Tyrian  
Cynosure* shew evidently, that by  
the former is meant the greater  
bear, as by the latter is plainly  
meant the lesser.

344. *The folded flocks penn'd in  
their wattled cotes.*] *Folded flocks*  
makes the other part of the line  
a mere expletive. Had Milton  
wrote *bleating flocks*, what fol-  
lowed had been fine, and it had  
agreed better with what went  
before. *Warburton.*

345. —oaten stops,] See note  
on *Lycidas* 188. *E.*

Or whistle from the lodge, or village cock  
 Count the night watches to his feathery dames,  
 'Twould be some solace yet, some litle cheering  
 In this close dungeon of innumerable boughs.  
 But O that hapless virgin, our lost Sister, 350  
 Where may she wander now, whither betake her  
 From the chill dew, amongst rude burs and thistles?  
 Perhaps some cold bank is her bolster now,  
 Or 'gainst the rugged bark of some broad elm  
 Leans her unpillow'd head fraught with sad fears. 355  
 What if in wild amazement, and affright,  
 Or, while we speak, within the direful grasp  
 Of savage hunger, or of savage heat?

349. *In this close dungeon*] So altered in the Manuscript from

*In this sad dungeon—*

349. —*innumerable*] See Mr. Warton's note, P. L. vii. 455. E.

350. *But O that hapless virgin, &c.*] Instead of the lines from this to ver. 366, the Manuscript had these following,

But oh that hapless virgin, our lost sister,

Where may she wander now, whither betake her

From the chill dew in this dead solitude?

*or surrounding wild?*

Perhaps some cold bank is her bolster now,

Or 'gainst the rugged bark of some broad elm

She leans her thoughtful head musing at our unkindness,

Or lost in wild amazement and affright

So fares, as did forsaken Proserpine,

*When the big wallowing flakes of pitchy clouds*

*And darkness wound her in.*

*I Bro. Peace, Brother, peace.*

*I do not think my sister &c.*

These lines were altered, and the others added afterwards on a separate scrap of paper.

358. *Of savage hunger, or of savage heat?*] The hunger of savage beasts, or the lust of men as savage as they. This appears evidently from the context to be the sense of the passage; and I should not have mentioned it, if two very ingenious persons had not mistaken it. The alliteration might help perhaps to determine Milton to the choice of this word; and *lust* would have been too strong an expression for the younger brother, who rather insinuates than openly declares his fears.

## ELDER BROTHER.

Peace, Brother, be not over-exquisite  
 To cast the fashion of uncertain evils; 360  
 For grant they be so, while they rest unknown,  
 What need a man forestall his date of grief,  
 And run to meet what he would most avoid?  
 Or if they be but false alarms of fear,  
 How bitter is such self-delusion? 365  
 I do not think my Sister so to seek,  
 Or so unprincipled in virtue's book,  
 And the sweet peace that goodness bosoms ever,  
 As that the single want of light and noise

359. —be not over-exquisite  
 To cast the fashion]

A. metaphor taken from the founder's art. Warburton.

Rather from astrology, as "to cast a nativity." The meaning is to "predict, prefigure, compute, &c." *Forecast* is the same word. See a *Vocation Exercise*, 13. *Sams. Agon*, 254. and P. L. iii. 634. T. Warton.

*Exquisite* was not now uncommon in its more original signification. B. and Fletcher, *Little Fr. Law*, act v. s. 1.

—They're exquisite in mischief.

T. Warton.

361. *For grant they be so, while they rest unknown,*] This line obscures the thought, and loads the expression. It had been better out, as any one may see by reading the passage without it. Warburton.

362. —his date of grief,] The Manuscript had at first

—the date of grief.

365. —such self-delusion?] It was at first, *this self-delusion*.

367. *Or so unprincipled in virtue's book,*] So in the *Tractate on Education*, p. 101. ed. 1673. "Souls so unprincipled in virtue." And "unprincipled, unedified, and laie rabble." *Prose Works*, i. 153. Compare also *Sams. Agon*, 760. T. Warton.

368. See the note P. L. v. 127. T. Warton.

369. *As that the single want of light and noise*

(*Not being in danger, as I trust she is not*)

*Could stir the constant mood of her calm thoughts, &c.*]

A profound critic cites the entire context, as containing a beautiful example of Milton's use of the parenthesis, a figure which he has frequently used with great effect. "The whole passage is 'exceedingly beautiful; but 'what I praise in the parenthesis is, the pathos and concern for his sister that it ex-

(Not being in danger, as I trust she is not) 370  
 Could stir the constant mood of her calm thoughts,  
 And put them into misbecoming plight.  
 Virtue could see to do what virtue would  
 By her own radiant light, though sun and moon  
 Were in the flat sea sunk. And Wisdom's self 375  
 Oft seeks to sweet retired solitude,

"presses. For every parenthesis should contain matter of weight; and, if it throws in some passion or feeling into the discourse, it is so much the better, because it furnishes the speaker with a proper occasion to vary the tone of his voice, which ought always to be done in speaking a parenthesis, but is never more properly done than when some passion is to be expressed. And we may observe here, that there ought to be two variations of the voice in speaking this parenthesis. The first is that tone which we use, when we mean to qualify or restrict any thing that we have said before. With this tone should be pronounced, *not being in danger*; and the second member, *as I trust she is not*, should be pronounced with that pathetic tone in which we earnestly hope or pray for any thing." *Origin and Progr. of Language*, b. iv. p. ii. vol. iii. p. 76. Edinb. 1776. This is very specious and ingenious reasoning. But some perhaps may think this beauty quite accidental and undesigned. A parenthesis is often thrown in, for the sake of explanation, after a passage is written. *T. Warton.*

371. *Could stir the constant mood*] The Manuscript had *stable*, but Milton corrected it to *constant mood*; for *stable* gives the idea of *rest*, when the poet was to give the idea of *action or motion*, which *constant* does give. *Warburton.*

So "my constant thoughts," *P. L. v. 552. T. Warton.*

373. *Virtue could see to do what virtue would*

*By her own radiant light, &c.]* This noble sentiment was inspired from Spenser, *Faery Qu. b. i. cant. 1. st. 12.*

Virtue gives herself light through darkness for to wade.

375. — *And Wisdom's self &c.]* Mr. Pope has imitated this thought;

Bear me some God! oh quickly bear me hence  
 To wholesome Solitude, the nurse of sense!  
 Where Contemplation prunes her ruffled wings,  
 And the free soul looks down to pity kings.

*Warburton.*

376. *Oft seeks to sweet retired solitude.]* At first he had written the verse thus,

Oft seeks to solitary sweet retire.

376. For the same uncommon use of *seck*, Mr. Bowle cites Bale's

Where with her best nurse Contemplation  
 She plumes her feathers, and lets grow her wings,  
 That in the various bustle of resort  
 Were all to ruffled, and sometimes impair'd. 380

*Examynacyon* of A. Askew, p. 24.  
 "Hath not he moche nede of  
 "helpe who *seketh* to soche a  
 "surgeon?" So also in *Isaiah*,  
 ii. 10. "To it shall the Gentiles  
 "seek." T. Warton.

377. *She plumes her feathers,*] I believe the true reading to be *prunes*, which Lawes ignorantly altered to *plumes*, afterwards imperceptibly continued in the poet's own edition. To *prune wings*, is to smooth, or set them in order, when *ruffled*. For this is the leading idea. Spenser, F. Q. ii. iii. 36.

She gins her feathers foule *disfigured*  
 Proudly to *prune*.

And in the *M. M. of Thestylis*,

—At their brightest beams  
 Him *proynd* in lovelly wise.

That is, he "*pruned* his wetted  
 "and *disordered* wings." Water-  
 fowl, at this day, are said to *prune*,  
 when they sleek or re-  
 place their wet feathers in the  
 sun. See commentators on Shake-  
 speare, P. I. Henry IV. act i.  
 s. 1.

Which makes him *prune* himself, &c.

Where Dr. Warburton and Han-  
 mer substituted *plume*. Upton  
 derives the word from the French  
*brunir*, to *polish*. Notes on Spen-  
 ser, p. 446. col. 2. *Prune her*  
*tender wing* is in Pope. *Prune*,  
*amputo*, is sometimes written  
*proine*, as in Drayton, *Polyolb.*  
 vol. ii. s. iii. p. 714. [But see fol.  
 edit. 1613.] "Here *proine*, and

"there *plant*." And in other  
 places. Pope says,

*Contemplation prunes her ruffled*  
*wings.*

See *On the Marks of Poetical Imitation*, 12mo. 1757. p. 43. I find,  
 however, in Hughes's *Thought*  
*in a Garden*, written 1704, *Poems*,  
 edit. 1735. vol. i. 12mo. p. 171.

Here *Contemplation prunes her wings.*  
 T. Warton.

380. *Were all to ruffled,*] So  
 read as in editions 1637, 1645,  
 and 1673. Not *too*, *nimis*. *All-*  
*to*, or *al-to*, is, *intirely*. See  
 Tyrwhitt's Gl. Chaucer, v. *Too*.  
 Various instances occur in Chau-  
 cer and Spenser, and in later  
 writers. "O how the coate of  
 "Christ that was without seam  
 "is *all to rent* and torn." *Homi-*  
*lies*, b. i. i. See Hearne's Gl.  
 Langtoft, p. 663. *Observat.* on  
 Spenser's F. Q. ii. 225. and Up-  
 ton's Spenser, Notes, p. 391. 594.  
 625. And the fifteenth general  
 rule for understanding G. Dou-  
 glass's Virgil, prefixed to Ruddi-  
 man's Glossary in the capital  
 edition of that translation. And  
 Upton's Gloss v. *All*. The cor-  
 ruption, supposed to be an  
 emendation, "*all too ruffled*,"  
 began with Tickell, who had no  
 knowledge of our old language,  
 and has been continued by Fen-  
 ton, and Dr. Newton. Tonson  
 has the true reading, in 1695,  
 and 1705. T. Warton.

I have restored the old read-  
 ing. E.

He that has light within his own clear breast  
 May sit i' th' centre, and enjoy bright day:  
 But he that hides a dark soul and foul thoughts,  
 Benighted walks under the mid-day sun;  
 Himself is his own dungeon.

## 2. BROTHER.

'Tis most true, 385

That musing meditation most affects  
 The pensive secrecy of desert cell,  
 Far from the cheerful haunt of men and herds,  
 And sits as safe as in a senate-house;  
 For who would rob a hermit of his weeds, 390  
 His few books, or his beads, or maple dish,  
 Or do his gray hairs any violence?  
 But beauty, like the fair Hesperian tree

381. *He that has light &c.*] This whole speech is a remarkably fine encomium on the force of virtue: but there is something so vastly striking and astonishing in these last five lines, that it is impossible to pass them over without stopping to admire and enjoy them. I do not know any place in the whole circle of his poetical performances, where dignity of sentiment and sublimity of expression are so happily united. *Thyer.*

384. *Benighted walks &c.*] Instead of these two lines the poet had written at first,

Walks in black vapours, though the  
 noontide brand

Blaze in the summer solstice.

Afterwards he blotted them out, and made this alteration much for the better.

388. —*of men and herds,*] It was at first, *men or herds.*

389. *And sits as safe as in a senate house;*] Not many years after this was written, Milton's friends shewed that the safety of a senate-house was not inviolable. But, when the people turn legislators, what place is safe from the tumults of innovation, and the insults of disobedience? *T. Warton.*

390. *For who would rob &c.*] These two lines at first stood thus in the Manuscript.

For who would rob a hermit of his  
 beads,  
 His books, his hairy gown, or maple  
 dish.

393. *But beauty, &c.*] These sentiments are heightened from the *Faithful Shepherdess*, act i. s. 1.



Laden with blooming gold, had need the guard  
 Of dragon-watch with uninchant'd eye, 395  
 To save her blossoms, and defend her fruit  
 From the rash hand of bold incontinence.  
 You may as well spread out the unsunn'd heaps . .  
 Of miser's treasure by an out-law's den,  
 And tell me it is safe, as bid me hope 400  
 Danger will wink on opportunity,  
 And let a single helpless maiden pass  
 Uninjur'd in this wild surrounding waste.  
 Of night, or loneliness it reck's me not;  
 I fear the dread events that dog them both, 405

—can such beauty be  
 Safe in its own guard, and not drawe  
 the eye  
 Of him that passeth on, to greedy  
 gaze, &c.

Compare also Shakespeare, *As you like it*, act i. s. 3. And see below; the note v. 982. *T. Warton*.

395. *Of dragon-watch with uninchant'd eye*,] That is, which cannot be enchanted. Here is more flattery; but certainly such as no poet in similar circumstances could resist the opportunity of paying. *T. Warton*.

400. —as bid me hope] The first reading was,

—as bid me think.

403. *Uninjur'd in this wild surrounding waste*,] The verse was at first,

Uninjur'd in this vast and hideous  
 wild:

and at present it stands in the Manuscript,

Uninjur'd in this wide surrounding  
 waste:

and I know not whether *wide* is not better than *wild*, which seems to be sufficiently implied in *waste*.

404. —*it reck's*] I care not for, &c. So "what *reck's* it them?" *Lycid.* v. 122. and *Par. L.* ix. 178. "Let it, I *reck* not." And ii. 50. "Of god, or hell, or worse, "he *recked* not." See Note on v. 836. *infr.* From *reck* comes *retchlessness*, or *recklessness*, in the Thirty-nine Articles, where the common reading is, "into *wretchlessness* of most unclean living." Artic. xvii. As if, yet with a manifest perversion of terms, a *wretched profligacy* was intended. The precise meaning is, a *carelessness*, a confident negligence, consisting "of the most abandoned course of life." *Reck*, with its derivatives, is the language of Chaucer and Spenser. *T. Warton*.

# 64 POEMS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

Lest some ill-greeting touch attempt the person  
Of our unowned Sister.

ELDER BROTHER.

I do not, Brother,  
Infer, as if I thought my Sister's state  
Secure without all doubt, or controversy:  
Yet where an equal poise of hope and fear 410  
Does arbitrate th' event, my nature is  
That I incline to hope, rather than fear,  
And gladly banish squint suspicion.  
My Sister is not so defenceless left  
As you imagine; she' has a hidden strength 415  
Which you remember not.

2. BROTHER.

What hidden strength,  
Unless the strength of heav'n, if you mean that?

ELDER BROTHER.

I mean that too, but yet a hidden strength,  
Which if heav'n gave it, may be term'd her own :

409. *Secure without all doubt,  
or controversy:*

*Yet where an equal poise &c.]*  
Instead of these lines are the fol-  
lowing in the Manuscript.

*Secure without all doubt or question ;*  
*no :*

*I could be willing though now I th'*  
*dark to try*

*A tough encounter with the shaggyest*  
*ruffian,*

*That lurks by hedge or lane of this*  
*dead circuit,*

*To have her by my side, though I were*  
*sure*

*She might be free from peril where she*  
*is.*

*But where an equal poise of hope*  
*and fear &c.*

For encounter he had written at

*first passado, and for hope and*  
*fear, hopes and fears.*

413. —*squint suspicion.*] Al-  
luding probably in this epithet  
to Spenser's description of *Sus-*  
*picion* in his *Mask of Cupid*,  
*Faery Queen*, b. iii. cant. 12. st.  
15.

*For he was foul, ill-favoured, and*  
*grim,*

*Under his eye-brows looking still a-*  
*scaunce &c.*

*Thyer.*

415. *As you imagine ; &c.]* This  
verse is redundant in the Manu-  
script,

*As you imagine, Brother ; she has a*  
*hidden strength.*

'Tis chastity, my Brother, chastity : 420  
 She that has that, is clad in complète steel,  
 And like a quiver'd nymph with arrows keen

420. 'Tis chastity, my Brother,  
 chastity ;  
 She that has that, is clad in  
 complète steel,  
 And like a quiver'd nymph with  
 arrows keen, &c.]

Perhaps Milton remembered a stanza in Fletcher's *Purple Island*, published but the preceding year, b. x. st. 27. It is in a personification of Virgin-chastity.

With her, her sister went, a warlike  
 maid,  
*Parthenia*, all in steels and gilded  
 arms,  
 In needle's stead, a mighty spear she  
 sway'd, &c.

See El. iv. 109. T. Warton.

421. *She that has that, is clad in complète steel, &c.*] He has finely improved here upon Horace, Od. i. xxii. 1.

Integer vilæ, scelerisque purus &c.

and the phrase of *complete steel* is borrowed from Shakespeare. Hamlet speaking to the Ghost, act i. sc. 7.

—What may this mean,  
 That thou, dead corse, again in *complete steel*  
 Revisit'st thus the glimpses of the  
 moon ?

And the lines following, before they were corrected, were thus in the Manuscript,

She that has that, is clad in complete  
 steel,  
 And may on every needful accident,  
 Be it not done in pride or wilful  
 tempting,  
 Walk through huge forests, and un-  
 harbour'd heaths,  
 Infamous hills, and sandy perilous  
 wilds,

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Where through the sacred awe of  
 chastity,  
 No savage fierce, bandits, or moun-  
 taineer  
 Shall dare to soil her virgin purity.

421. The phrase "complete steel" was, I rather think, a common expression for "armed from head to foot." It occurs in Dekker's *Untrussing of the Humorous Poet*, which was acted by the Lord Chamberlain's servants, and the choir-boys of St. Paul's, in 1602. Hamlet appeared at least before 1598. Again, in *The weakest goeth to the wall*, of which the first edition was in 1600. Hence an expression in our author's *Apology*, which also confirms what is here said, s. 1. "Zeal, whose sub-stance is ethereal, arming in complete diamond, ascends his fiery chariot, &c." Pr. W. i. 114. T. Warton.

422. *And like a quiver'd nymph with arrows keen*] I make no doubt but Milton in this passage had his eye upon Spenser's *Belphebe*, whose character, arms, and manner of life perfectly correspond with this description. What makes it the more certain is, that Spenser intended under that personage to represent the virtue of *chastity*. Thus in the introduction to the third book of his *Faery Queen*, complimenting his virgin sovereign Queen Elizabeth, he says,

But either Gloriana let her choose,  
 Or in Belphebe fashioned to be :  
 In th' one her rule, in th' other her  
 rare chastity.

Thyrr.

May trace huge forests, and unharbour'd heaths,  
 Infamous hills, and sandy perilous wilds,  
 Where through the sacred rays of chastity, 425  
 No savage fierce, bandite, or mountaineer  
 Will dare to soil her virgin purity :  
 Yea there, where very desolation dwells  
 By grots, and caverns shagg'd with horrid shades,

428. *May trace huge forests,*  
 &c.] Shakespeare's Oberon would  
 breed his child-knight to "trace  
 "the forests wild." *Mids. N.*  
*Dream*, act ii. s. 3. In Jonson's  
*Masques*, a fairy says, vol. v. 206.

Only we are free to trace  
 All his grounds, as he to chase.

T. Warton.

429. —*huge forests, and un-*  
*harbour'd heaths,*  
*Infamous hills, and sandy peril-*  
*ous wilds, &c.]*  
 Perhaps there is more merit in  
 Horace's particularizations, *Od.*  
 xxii. 5.

*Sive per Syrtes iter aestuosas,*  
*Sive facturus per inhospitalem*  
*Caucasum, &c.*

T. Warton.

424. *Infamous hills,]* Expressed  
 from Horace, *Od. i. iii. 20.*  
*Infames scopulos Acroceraunia.*

425. *Where through the sacred*  
*rays of chastity,*  
*No savage fierce, bandite, or*  
*mountaineer,*  
*Will dare to soil her virgin pu-*  
*rity.]*

So Fletcher, *Faith. Sheph.* act i.  
 s. 1. vol. iii. p. 109. A satyr  
 kneels to a virgin-shepherdess in  
 a forest.

—Why should this rough thing, who  
 never knew

Manners, nor smooth humanity,  
 whose heats  
 Are rougher than himself, and more  
 misshapen,  
 Thus mildly kneel to me? Sure  
 there's a power  
 In that great name of *Virgia*, that  
 binds fast  
 All rude uncivil bloods, all appetites  
 That break their confines: then,  
 strong Chastity, &c.

T. Warton.

426. —*bandite, or mountaineer]*  
 A mountaineer seems to have  
 conveyed the idea of something  
 very savage and ferocious. In  
 the *Tempest*, act iii. s. 3.

Who would believe that there were  
 mountaineers  
 Dewlapp'd like bulls, &c.

In *Cymbeline*, act iv. s. 2.  
 Yield, rustic mountaineer.

Again, *ibid.*  
 Who call'd me traitor, mountaineer.

Again, act iv. s. 2.  
 That here by mountaineer lies slain.

In Drayton, *Mus. Elys.* vol. iv.  
 p. 1454.

This Cleon was a mountaineer,  
 And of the wilder kind.

T. Warton.

428. *Yea there,]* In the *Manu-*  
 script it is, *Yea er'n where &c.*

429. *By grots, and caverns*  
*shagg'd with horrid shades,]* This

She may pass on with unblench'd majesty, 430  
Be it not done in pride, or in presumption.  
Some say no evil thing that walks by night,

verse Mr. Pope has adopted in his *Eloisa* to *Abelard*.

*Ye grots, and caverns shagg'd with horrid thorn.*

429. Again, in the same poem, v. 24.

*I have not yet forgot myself to stone.*

Almost as evidently from our author's *Il. Pens.* v. 42.

*There held in holy passion still,  
Forget thyself to marble.*

Pope again, *ibid.* v. 244.

*And low-brow'd rocks hang nodding  
o'er the deeps.*

From *Il. Pens.* v. 244.

*There under ebon shades, and low-  
brow'd rocks.*

And in the *Messiah*, v. 6.

*—Touch'd Isaiab's hallow'd lips with  
fire.*

So in the *Ode*, *Nativ.* v. 28.

*—Touch'd with hallow'd fire.*

See *supr.* at v. 26. 380. And *infr.* at v. 861. And *Essay* on Pope, p. 307. s. vi. edit. 2.

This is the first instance of any degree even of the slightest attention being paid to Milton's smaller poems by a writer of note since their first publication. Milton was never mentioned or acknowledged as an English poet till after the appearance of *Paradise Lost*: and long after that time these pieces were totally forgotten and overlooked. It is strange that Pope, by no means of a congenial spirit, should be the first who copied *Comus* or *Il Penseroso*. But Pope was a gleaner of the old

English poets; and he was here pilfering from *obsolete* English poetry, without the least fear or danger of being detected. *T. Warton.*

430. *She may pass on with unblench'd majesty.*] So *Hamlet*, speaking of the king, at the conclusion of act the second,

*—I'll observe his looks,  
I'll tent him to the quick; if he but  
blench,*

*I know my course.*

*Thyer.*

430. —*unblench'd*] Unblinded, unconfounded. See *Steevens's* note on *blench*, in *Hamlet*, at the close of the second act. And *Upton's Gloss.* *Spenser*, v. *Blend*. And *Tyrwhitt's Gloss.* Ch. v. *Blend*. In *B. and Fletcher's Pilgrim*, act iv. s. 3. vol. v. p. 516.

*—Men that will not totter  
Nor blench much at a bullet.*

*T. Warton.*

*Unblench'd*, not disgraced, not injured by any soil. *Johnson.*

432. *Some say no evil thing that walks by night, &c.*] There are several such beautiful allusions to the vulgar superstitions in *Shakespeare*; but here *Milton* had his eye particularly on *Fletcher's Faithful Shepherdess*, act i. He has borrowed the sentiment, but raised and improved the diction.

*Yet I have heard, my mother told it  
me,  
And now I do believe it, if I keep  
My virgin flow'r uncropp'd, pure,  
chaste, and fair,  
No goblin, wood-god, fairy, elf, or  
fiend,*

In fog, or fire, by lake, or moorish fen,  
 Blue meagre hag, or stubborn unlaïd ghost,  
 'That breaks his magic chains at curfew time, 435  
 No goblin, or swart fairy of the mine,

Satyr, or other pow'r that haunts the  
 groves,  
 Shall hurt my body, or by vain illu-  
 sion  
 Draw me to wander after idle fires:  
 &c.

432. Milton had Shakespeare  
 in his head, Hamlet, act i. s. 1.

Some say, that ever 'gainst that sea-  
 son comes  
 Wherein our Saviour's birth is cele-  
 brated, &c.  
 But then they say no spirit walks  
 abroad, &c.

But the imitation is more imme-  
 diately from the speech of the  
 virgin shepherdess in Fletcher,  
 just quoted. Ibid. p. 108.

Yet I have heard, &c.

Another superstition is ushered  
 in with the same form, in Par.  
 L. x. 575.

Yearly enjoin'd, some say, to undergo  
 This annual humbling, certain num-  
 ber'd days.

And the same form occurs in the  
 description of the physical effects  
 of Adam's fall. Ibid. x. 668.

Some say, he bid his angels turn  
 askance  
 The poles of earth twice ten degrees,  
 &c.

T. Warton.

433. —[or moorish fen,] The  
 Manuscript has *moory fen*: and  
 in the next line for *meagre hag*  
 was at first *wrinkled hag*.

434. *Blue meagre hag*, &c.]  
 Perhaps from Shakespeare's  
 "Blue-eyed hag." Temp. act i.  
 s. 2.

434. —*stubborn unlaïd ghost*,  
*That breaks his magic chains at*  
*curfew time.*]

An *unlaïd ghost* was among the  
 most vexatious plagues of the  
 world of spirits. It is one of  
 the evils deprecated at Fidele's  
 grave, in Cymbeline, act iv. s. 2.

No exorciser harm thee,  
 Nor no witchcraft charm thee,  
 Ghost unlaïd forbear thee!

The metaphorical expression is  
 beautiful, of *breaking his magic*  
*chains*, for "being suffered to  
 "wander abroad." And here too  
 the superstition is from Shake-  
 speare, K. Lear, act iii. s. 4.  
 "This is the foul Flibertigibbet:  
 "he begins at curfew, and walks  
 "till the first cock." Compare  
 also Cartwright, in his play of  
 the Ordinary, where Moth the  
 antiquary sings an old song, act  
 ii. s. 1. p. 36. edit. 1651. He  
 wishes, that the house may re-  
 main free from wicked spirits,

From curfew time  
 To the next prime.

Compare note on Il Pens. 82.  
 and the Tempest, act v. s. 1.  
 where Prospero invokes the elves

—that rejoice  
 To hear the solemn curfew.

That is, they rejoice because they  
 are then allowed to be at large  
 till the cock-crowing. See Mac-  
 beth, act ii. s. 3. T. Warton.

436. —*swart fairy of the mine*,]  
*Swart* or *swarthy*. See the note  
 on Paradise Lost, i. 684.

Hath hurtful pow'r o'er true virginity.  
 Do ye believe me yet, or shall I call  
 Antiquity from the old schools of Greece  
 To testify the arms of chastity? 440  
 Hence had the huntress Dian her dread bow,  
 Fair silver-shafted queen, for ever chaste,

436. In the Gothic system of pneumatology, mines were supposed to be inhabited by various sorts of spirits. See Olaus Magnus's Chapter de Metallicis Dæmonibus, Hist. Gent. Septentrional, vi. x. In an old translation of Lavaterus de Spectris et Lemuribus, is the following passage. "Pioners or diggers for metall do affirme, that in many mines there appeare straunge shapes and spirites, who are appparelled like unto the laborers in the pit. These wander up and downe in caves and underminings, and seeme to besturre themselves in all kinde of labor; as, to digge after the veine, to carrie together the oare, to put into basketts, and to turne the winding wheele to draw it up, when in very deed they do nothing lesse, &c."—"Of ghostes and spirites walking by night, &c." Lond. 1572. bl. lett. ch. xvi. p. 73. And hence we see why Milton gives this species of fairy a swarthy or dark complexion. Georgius Agricola, in his tract De Subterraneis Animantibus, relates among other wonders of the same sort, that these spirits sometimes assume the most terrible shapes; and that one of them, in a cave or pit in Germany,

killed twelve miners with his pestilential breath. Ad calc. De Re Metall. p. 538. Basil. 1621. fol. Drayton personifies the Peak in Derbyshire, which he makes a witch skilful in metallurgy. Polyolb. s. xxvi. vol. iii. p. 1176.

The sprites that haunt the mines she  
 could correct and tame,  
 And bind them as she list in Saturne's  
 dreaded name.

Compare Heywood's Hierarchie of Angels, b. ix. p. 568. edit. 1635. fol.

This passage of G. Agricola is quoted by Hales of Eton, in a Sermon on Rom. xiv. 1. And by Bishop Taylor, in his second Sermon on Tit. ii. 7. By both, with the same humorous application to theological controvertists. And in the quarto edition of Hales's Golden Remains, published by Bishop Pearson, there is a frontispiece in three divisions: in the lowest, a representation of Agricola's mine, with a reference to the citation, and this explanation, *Controversers of the times, like spirits in the mineralls, with all their labor, nothing is done.* T. Warton.

441. Hence had the huntress  
 Dian her dread bow,  
 Fair silver-shafted queen, for  
 ever chaste.]

So Jonson to Diana. Cynth. Rev. act v. s. 6.

Wherewith she tam'd the brind'd lioness  
 And spotted mountain pard, and set at nought  
 The frivolous bolt of Cupid; Gods and men 445  
 Fear'd her stern frown, and she was queen o'th' woods.  
 What was that snaky-headed Gorgon shield,  
 That wise Minerva wore, unconquer'd virgin,  
 Wherewith she freez'd her foes to congeal'd stone,  
 But rigid looks of chaste austerity, 450  
 And noble grace that dash'd brute violence  
 With sudden adoration, and blank awe?  
 So dear to heav'n is saintly chastity,

Queene, and huntresse, chaste and  
 faire.

T. Warton.

Milton, I fancy, took the hint of this beautiful mythological interpretation from a dialogue of Lucian's betwixt Venus and Cupid, where the mother asking her son how, after having attacked all the other deities, he came to spare Minerva and Diana, Cupid replies, that the former looked so fiercely at him, and frightened him so with the Gorgon head which she wore upon her breast, that he durst not meddle with her—και ὅρα δὲ δειμν, και ἰσι του σελους ἔχει προσ-  
 οποι τι φοβερν, ἰχιδίως κατακομν, ὅτις οὐν μαλιστα διδ:α: μαρμαλυ-  
 τται γὰρ μ. και φινυμ οται ἰδω  
 αυτ. p. 84. ed. Bourdelot—and that as to Diana she was always so employed in hunting, that he could not catch her—οὐδὲ κατα-  
 λαβνι αυτης ἰσιντι, φινυουσιν αι δια  
 ται ἔρυν. Ibid. *Thyer*.

445. *The fricolous bolt of Cupid*;] *Bolt* was anciently a very common term for *arrow*. Witness the old proverb, *The fool's bolt is soon shot*. *Peck*.

This reminds one of the "drib-  
 "bling dart of love," in *M. for Measure*. *Bolt*, I believe, is properly the arrow of a cross-bow. *Fletcher*, *Faithf. Sheph.* act ii. s. 1. p. 134.

—With bow and bolt,  
 To shoot at nimble squirrels in the  
 holt.

T. Warton.

448. —*unconquer'd virgin*,] He wrote at first *eternal*, then *unvanquish'd*, at last *unconquer'd*; and with great propriety, for in Greek authors Minerva is often called ἀδάμαστος *hæ*, and παρθένος *adæmæ*.

450, 451. *Rigid looks* refer to the *snaky* locks, and *noble grace* to the beautiful face, as gorgon is represented on ancient gems. *Warburton*.

452. *With sudden adoration, and blank awe*?] It was at first,

With sudden adoration of her pure-  
 ness:

this he altered to *of bright rays*, and then to *and blank awe*.

453. *So dear to heav'n is saintly chastity, &c.*] So *Spenser*, relating how *Florimel*, in danger of



# POEMS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. 71

That when a soul is found sincerely so,  
 A thousand liveried angels lacky her 455  
 Driving far off each thing of sin and guilt,  
 And in clear dream, and solemn vision,  
 Tell her of things that no gross ear can hear,  
 Till oft converse with heav'nly habitants  
 Begin to cast a beam on th' outward shape, 460  
 The unpolluted temple of the mind,

being ravished, was delivered by Proteus, breaks out into a reflection of the same kind. Faery Queen, b. iii. cant. 8. st. 29.

See how the heav'ns of voluntary grace,  
 And sovereign favour towards chastity,  
 Do succour send to her distressed case:  
 So much high God doth innocence embrace.

*Thyer.*

454. *That when a soul is found sincerely so,]* It was at first in the Manuscript,

That when it finds a soul sincerely so.  
 The alteration makes the sense rather plainer.

455. *A thousand liveried angels lacky her.]* The idea, without the lowness of allusion and expression, is repeated in Par. L. viii. 359.

About her, as a guard angelic plac'd,  
*T. Warton.*

458. *Tell her of things that no gross ear can hear,]* See note on Arcades, 72.

This dialogue between the two brothers is an amicable contest between fact and philosophy. The younger argues from com-

mon apprehension, and the common appearances of things; the elder from a profounder knowledge, and abstracted principles. Here the difference of their ages is properly made subservient to a contrast of character. But this slight variety must have been insufficient to keep so prolix and learned a disputation, however adorned with the fairest flowers of eloquence, alive upon the stage. The whole dialogue much resembles the manner of our author's Latin Prologues at Cambridge, where philosophy is enforced by pagan fable and poetical allusion. *T. Warton.*

461. *The unpolluted temple of the mind,]* For this beautiful metaphor he was probably indebted to Scripture. John ii. 21. *He spake of the temple of his body.* And Shakespeare has the same. *Tempest, act i. s. 6.*

There's nothing ill can dwell in such a temple.

If the ill spirit have so fair an house,  
 Good things will strive to dwell with't.

462. *And turns it by degrees to the soul's essence,]* This is agreeable to the system of the materialists, of which Milton was one. *Warburton.*

And turns it by degrees to the soul's essence,  
 Till all be made immortal: but when lust,  
 By unchaste looks, loose gestures, and foul talk,  
 But most by lewd and lavish act of sin, 465  
 Lets in defilement to the inward parts,  
 The soul grows clotted by contagion,

The same notion of *body's working up to spirit* Milton afterwards introduced into his *Paradise Lost*, v. 469, &c. which is there, I think, liable to some objection, as he was entirely at liberty to have chosen a more rational system, and as it is also put into the mouth of an archangel. But in this place it falls in so well with the poet's design, gives such force and strength to this encomium on chastity, and carries in it such a dignity of sentiment, that however repugnant it may be to our philosophic ideas, it cannot miss striking and delighting every virtuous and intelligent reader. *Thyer.*

464. *By unchaste looks,*] "He [Christ] censures an *unchaste look* to be an adultery already committed." Divorce, b. ii. c. 1. Pr. W. i. 184. Milton therefore in this expression alludes to S. Matt. v. 28. *πας ὁ βλέπων γυναίκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς, κ. τ. λ.* *T. Warton.*

465. *But most by lewd and lavish act of sin,*] In the Manuscript it is *And most* &c. and instead of *lewd and lavish* he had written at first,

And most by the lascivious act of sin.

465. It is the same idea, yet where it is very commodiously applied, in Par. L. vi. 660.

—Spirits of purest light,  
 Purest at first, now gross by sinning  
 grown.

*T. Warton.*

467. *The soul grows clotted &c.*] Our author has here improved his poetry by philosophy. These notions are borrowed from Plato's *Phædon*. See Plato's Works, vol. i. p. 81. and 83. edit. Henr. Steph. And when the other brother replies

*How charming is divine philosophy!*

he means the philosophy of Plato, who was distinguished among the ancients by the name of the *divine*.

467. I cannot resist the pleasure of translating a passage in Plato's *Phædon*, which Milton here evidently copies. "A soul with such affections, does it not fly away to something divine and resembling itself? To something divine, immortal, and wise? Whither when it arrives, it becomes happy; being freed from error, ignorance, fear, love, and other human evils.—But if it departs from the body polluted and impure, with which it has been long linked in a state of familiarity and friendship, and from whose pleasures and appetites it has been bewitched, so as to think nothing else true,

Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose  
The divine property of her first being.

"but what is corporeal, and  
"which may be touched, seen,  
"drank, and used for the grati-  
"fications of lust: at the same  
"time, if it has been accustomed  
"to hate, fear, or shun, whatever  
"is dark and invisible to the  
"human eye, yet discerned and  
"approved by philosophy: I  
"ask, if a soul so disposed, will  
"go sincere and disincumbered  
"from the body? By no means.  
"And will it not be, as I have  
"supposed, infected and in-  
"volved with corporeal con-  
"tagion, which an acquaintance  
"and converse with the body,  
"from a perpetual association,  
"has made congenial? So I  
"think. But, my friend, we  
"must pronounce that substance  
"to be ponderous, depressive,  
"and earthy, which such a soul  
"draws with it: and therefore  
"it is burthened by such a clog,  
"and again is dragged off to  
"some visible place, for fear of  
"that which is hidden and un-  
"seen; and, as they report,  
"retires to tombs and sepul-  
"chres, among which the sha-  
"dowy phantasms of these brutal  
"souls, being loaded with some-  
"what visible, have often actually  
"appeared. Probably, O Socra-  
"tes. And it is equally probable,  
"O Cebes, that these are the  
"souls of wicked not virtuous  
"men, which are forced to  
"wander amidst burial-places,  
"suffering the punishment of an  
"impious life. And they so long  
"are seen hovering about the  
"monuments of the dead, till  
"from the accompaniment of

"the sensualities of corporeal  
"nature, they are again clothed  
"with a body, &c." Phæd. Opp.  
Platon. p. 386. b. 1. edit. Lugdun.  
1590. fol. An admirable writer,  
the present Bishop of Worcester,  
has justly remarked, that "this  
"poetical philosophy nourished  
"the fine spirits of Milton's time,  
"though it corrupted some." It  
is highly probable, that Henry  
More, the great Platonist, who  
was Milton's contemporary at  
Christ's college, might have given  
his mind an early bias to the  
study of Plato. But although  
Milton was confessedly a great  
reader of Plato, yet all this whole  
system had been lately brought  
forward by May, in his Continuation of Lucan's Historical Poem,  
Lond. 1630. 12mo. See b. iv.  
signat. T. 4. where there are  
many lines bearing a strong re-  
semblance to some of Milton's.  
But in this book May has trans-  
lated almost the whole of Plato's  
Phædon, which he puts into the  
mouth of Cato. T. Warton.

468. *Imbodies, and imbrutes,*]  
Thus also Satan speaks of the  
debasement and corruption of  
his original divine essence, Par.  
L. ix. 165.

—Mix'd with bestial slime,  
This essence to incarnate and imbrute,  
That to the height of deity aspir'd.

Our author, with these Platonic  
refinements in his head, supposes  
that the human soul was for a  
long time *embodied* and *imbruted*  
with the carnal ceremonies of  
popery, just as she is sensualised  
and degraded by a participation  
of the vicious habits of the body.

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Such are those thick and gloomy shadows damp 470  
 Oft seen in charnel vaults, and sepulchres,  
 Ling'ring, and sitting by a new made grave,  
 As loath to leave the body that it lov'd,  
 And link'd itself by carnal sensuality  
 To a degenerate and degraded state. 475

2. BROTHER.

How charming is divine philosophy !  
 Not harsh, and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,  
 But musical as is Apollo's lute,  
 And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets,  
 Where no crude surfeit reigns.

ELDER BROTHER.

List, list, I hear 480  
 Some far off halloo break the silent air.

2. BROTHER.

Methought so too; what should it be?

Of Reformation, &c. Prose W. vol. i. 1. *Imbrute*, or *embrute*, occurs in G. Fletcher, p. 38. T. Warton.

472. *Ling'ring and sitting by a new made grave*,] In the Manuscript, and in the edition of 1637, it is

*Hovering*, and sitting, &c.

476. *How charming is divine philosophy*!] This is an immediate reference to the foregoing speech, in which the *divine* philosophy of Plato, concerning the nature and condition of the human soul after death, is so largely and so nobly displayed. See Note on Par. Reg. i. 478. T. Warton.

478. *But musical as is Apollo's*

*lute*,] Milton probably took this comparison from Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*, act iv. s. 4. though there it is applied upon another occasion.

—as sweet and musical  
 As bright Apollo's lute, strung with his hair.

He has something of the same thought again in *Paradise Regained*, i. 479.

Smooth on the tongue discours'd,  
 pleasing to th' ear,  
 And tuneable as sylvan pipe or song.

480. —*List, list, I hear* &c.] He had written at first,

—List, list, methought I heard &c.

and in the Manuscript is a marginal direction, *halloo far off*.

## ELDER BROTHER.

For certain

Either some one like us night-founder'd here,  
 Or else some neighbour woodman, or, at worst,  
 Some roving robber calling to his fellows. 485

## 2. BROTHER.

Heav'n keep my Sister. Again, again, and near;  
 Best draw, and stand upon our guard.

## ELDER BROTHER.

I'll halloo;

If he be friendly, he comes well; if not,  
 Defence is a good cause, and heav'n be for us.

*The attendant Spirit, habited like a shepherd.*

That halloo I should know, what are you? speak; 490  
 Come not too near, you fall on iron stakes else.

## SPIRIT.

What voice is that? my young Lord? speak again.

## 2. BROTHER.

O brother, 'tis my father's shepherd, sure.

/

485. *Some roving robber calling to his fellows.*] The Trinity Manuscript had at first,

*Some cur'd man of the sword calling &c.*

which alluded to the fashion of the Court Gallants of that time: and what follows continues the allusion,

*Had best look to his forehead, here be brambles.*

But I suppose he thought it might give offence: and he was not yet come to an open defiance with

the court. Warburton.

489. *Defence is a good cause, and heav'n be for us.*] This verse was well substituted in the room of that just quoted,

*Had best look to his forehead, here be brambles.*

And then follows in the Manuscript, *He halloos, the guardian Daemon halloos again, and enters in the habit of a shepherd.*

491. —iron stakes] It was at first in the Manuscript, *pointed stakes.*

## ELDER BROTHER.

Thyrsis? whose artful strains have oft delay'd  
 The huddling brook to hear his madrigal, 495  
 And sweeten'd every muskrose of the dale.  
 How cam'st thou here, good swain? hath any ram  
 Slipp'd from the fold, or young kid lost his dam,  
 Or straggling wether the pent flock forsook?

494. *Thyrsis? whose artful strains &c.*] This no doubt was intended as a compliment to Mr. Lawes upon his musical compositions; and a very fine one it is, and more genteel than that which we took notice of before, as that was put into his own mouth, but this is spoken by another.

494. The spirit appears habited like a shepherd; and the poet has here caught a fit of rhyming from Fletcher's pastoral comedy.

Milton's eagerness to praise his friend Lawes, makes him here forget the circumstances of the fable: he is more intent on the musician than the shepherd, who comes at a critical season, and whose assistance in the present difficulty should have hastily been asked. But time is lost in a needless encomium, and in idle enquiries how the shepherd could possibly find out this solitary part of the forest. The youth, however, seems to be ashamed or unwilling to tell the unlucky accident that had befallen his sister. Perhaps the real boyism of the Brother, which yet should have been forgotten by the poet, is to be taken into the account. *T. Warton.*

495. —*To hear his madrigal.*]

The madrigal was a species of musical composition now actually in practice, and in high vogue. Lawes, here intended, had composed madrigals. So had Milton's father, as we shall see hereafter. The word is not here thrown out at random. *T. Warton.*

496. *And sweeten'd every &c.*] In poetical and picturesque circumstances, in wildness of fancy and imagery, and in weight of sentiment and moral, how greatly does Comus excel the Aminta of Tasso, and the Pastor Fido of Guarini, which Milton, from his love of Italian poetry, must have frequently read! Comus, like these two, is a pastoral Drama, and I have often wondered it is not mentioned as such. *Dr. J. Warton.*

496. —*of the dale.*] In the Manuscript it was at first

—*of the valley.*

497. *How cam'st thou here, good swain? &c.*] In the Manuscript it is *good shepherd*: but that agrees not so well with the measure of the verse. And in the next verse the Manuscript had at first *Leap'd o'er the pen*, which was corrected into *Slipp'd from his fold*, as it is in the Manuscript, or *the fold*, as in all the editions.

How could'st thou find this dark sequester'd nook ? 500

SPIRIT.

O my lov'd master's heir, and his next joy,  
I came not here on such a trivial toy  
As a stray'd ewe, or to pursue the stealth  
Of pilfering wolf; not all the fleecy wealth  
That doth enrich these downs, is worth a thought 505  
To this my errand, and the care it brought.  
But, O my virgin Lady, where is she?  
How chance she is not in your company?

ELDER BROTHER.

To tell thee sadly, Shepherd, without blame,  
Or our neglect, we lost her as we came. 510

SPIRIT.

Aye me unhappy! then my fears are true.

ELDER BROTHER.

What fears, good Thyrsis? Prythee briefly shew.

SPIRIT.

I'll tell ye; 'tis not vain or fabulous  
(Though so esteem'd by shallow ignorance)  
What the sage poets, taught by th' heav'nly Muse, 515

500. —*sequester'd nook* ?] Compare P. L. iv. 789.

Search thro' this garden, leave unsearch'd no nook.

Again, ix. 277.

As in a shady nook I stood behind.

And *sequestered* occurs in the same application, P. L. iv. 706.

In shadier bower, more sacred and sequester'd.

T. Warton.

509. *To tell thee sadly, Shep-*

*herd,*] *Sadly*, soberly, seriously, as the word is frequently used by our old authors, and in *Paradise Lost*, vi. 541. where see the note.

512. *What fears, good Thyrsis ?*] He had written at first *good Shepherd*, but this was altered to *good Thyrsis* for variety, as he had just before addressed him by the name of *Shepherd*.

513. *I'll tell ye ;*] In the Manuscript and edition of 1637 it is, *I'll tell you*.

Storied of old in high immortal verse,  
Of dire chimeras and enchanted isles,  
And rifted rocks whose entrance leads to hell;  
For such there be, but unbelief is blind.

Within the navel of this hideous wood, 520  
Immur'd in cypress shades a sorcerer dwells,  
Of Bacchus and of Circe born, great Comus,  
Deep skill'd in all his mother's witcheries,  
And here to every thirsty wanderer  
By sly enticement gives his baneful cup, 525  
With many murmurs mix'd, whose pleasing poison  
The visage quite transforms of him that drinks,  
And the inglorious likeness of a beast  
Fixes instead, unmoulding reason's mintage  
Charàcter'd in the face; this I have learnt 530  
Tending my flocks hard by i' th' hilly crofts,

516. —*dire chimeras*] P. L. ii.  
628.

Gorgons, and hydras, and chimeras  
dire,

T. Warton.

520. *Within the navel*] That is,  
in the midst, a phrase borrowed  
from the Greeks and Latins.

523. *Deep skill'd*] He had writ-  
ten at first *Inur'd*.

526. *With many murmurs mix'd,*]  
That is, in preparing this in-  
chanted cup, the *charm* of many  
barbarous unintelligible words  
was intermixed, to quicken and  
strengthen its operation. Wor-  
burton.

530. *Charàcter'd in the face;*]  
The word is often pronounced  
with this accent by our old  
writers. So Spenser, Faery  
Queen, b. iii. cant. 3. st. 14.

And writing strange *charàcters* in the  
ground.

So Shakespeare, Two Gentlemen  
of Verona, act ii. s. 10.

Who art the table wherein all my  
thoughts  
Are visibly *charàcter'd* and *Ingrav'd*.

And 2 Henry VI. act iii. s. 4.

Show me one scar *charàcter'd* on thy  
skin.

530. So in his Divorcee, b. i.  
Pref. "A law not only written  
"by Moses, but *charactered* in  
"us by nature." Pr. W. i. 167.  
See Observat. Spenser's F. Q. ii.  
162. T. Warton.

531. —*i' th' hilly crofts,*] He  
had written at first *i' th' pastur'd  
lawns*, which agrees not so well  
with what follows.



That brow this bottom glade, whence night by night  
 He and his monstrous rout are heard to howl  
 Like stabled wolves, or tigers at their prey,  
 Doing abhorred rites to Hecate 535  
 In their obscured haunts of inmost bowers.  
 Yet have they many baits, and guileful spells,  
 To' inveigle and invite th' unwary sense  
 Of them that pass unweeting by the way.  
 This evening late, by then the chewing flocks 540  
 Had ta'en their supper on the savoury herb  
 Of knot-grass dew-besprent, and were in fold,  
 I sat me down to watch upon a bank  
 With ivy canopied, and interwove

532. —*this bottom glade,*] So  
 Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*,  
 ed. 1596.

*Sweet bottom-grass, and high de-  
 lightfull plaine.*

*T. Warton.*

534. *Like stabled wolves, or tigers at their prey,*] This comparison in all probability was formed from what Virgil says of Circe's island, *Æn.* vii. 15.

*Hinc exaudiri gemitus, iraque leonum*

—*ac formæ magnorum ululare luporum:*

*Quos hominum ex facie Dea sæva potentibus herbis*

*Inducent Circe in vultus ac terga ferarum.*

540. —*by then the chewing flocks*

*Had ta'en their supper on the savoury herb]*

The supper of the sheep is from a beautiful comparison in Spenser, *F. Q. i. i.* 23.

*As gentle shepherd in sweet eventide  
 When ruddy Phebus gins to welke in west,*

*Iligh on a hill his flock to viewen wide*

*Marks which do bite their hasty supper best.*

*T. Warton.*

542. *Of knot-grass dew-besprent,*] This species of grass is mentioned in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, act iii. s. 7. And *dew-besprent* is sprinkled with dew. Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, December,

*My head besprent with hoary frost I find.*

*Fairfax*, cant. 12. st. 101.

*His silver locks with dust his soul besprent.*

544. *With ivy canopied, and interwove*

*With flaunting honey-suckle,]* Perhaps from Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, act ii. s. 2.

*Quite over canopied with luscious woodbine,*

With flaunting honey-suckle, and began, 545  
 Wrapt in a pleasing fit of melancholy,  
 To meditate my rural minstrelsy,  
 Till fancy had her fill, but ere a close  
 The wonted roar was up amidst the woods,  
 And fill'd the air with barbarous dissonance; 550  
 At which I ceas'd, and listen'd them a while,  
 Till an unusual stop of sudden silence  
 Gave respite to the drowsy flighted steeds,

*Canopied*, in the same application, occurs also in Drayton, Phineas Fletcher, Carew, and Browne. See the note on *interwove*, P. L. i. 621. T. Warton.

545. *With flaunting honey-suckle,*] It was at first spreading or blowing.

545. Milton therefore changed the epithets, which were simply descriptive, for one which ascribed to the plant an attribute of an animated, or even of a sentient, being. See note on P. R. i. 500. Mr. Warton refers to Lycidas 146, "*well-attir'd woodbine*," and 40, "*the godding vine*." And the same remark applies to these epithets, and to several others near them, "*cowslips wan*," "*joyous leaves*," &c. E.

547. *To meditate my rural minstrelsy.*] We have the expression "*rural minstrelsy*" in Browne's Pastorals, b. i. s. i. p. 2. and in the Eclogues of Brooke and Davies, Lond. 1614; but the whole context is Virgil's "*Sylvestrem tenui musam meditaris arena*," Bucol. i. 2. As in Lycidas, 66.

—meditate the thankless muse.

*Close*, in the next line, is a mu-

sical *close* on his pipe. See the note on the Ode on the Nativity, 100. T. Warton.

553.—*the drowsy flighted steeds, That draw the litter of close curtain'd sleep;*]

So I read *drowsy-flighted* according to Milton's Manuscript; and this genuine reading Dr. Dalton has also preserved in Comus. *Drowsy-flighted* is nonsense, and manifestly an error of the press in all the editions. There can be no doubt that in this passage Milton had his eye upon the following description of night in Shakespeare, 2 Henry VI. act iv. s. 1.

And now loud howling wolves arouse  
 the jades,  
 That drag the tragic melancholy night,  
 Who with their drowsy, slow, and  
 flagging wings  
 Clip dead men's graves —

The idea and the expression of *drowsy-flighted* in the one are plainly copied from *their drowsy, slow, and flagging wings* in the other: and Fletcher in the Faithful Shepherdess has much the same image, act iv.

Night, do not steal away: I woo  
 thee yet  
 To hold a hard hand o'er the rusty bit  
 That guides thy lary team.

That draw the litter of close-curtain'd sleep;  
At last a soft and solemn breathing sound

555

And as Mr. Thyer farther observes, the epithet also of *close-curtain'd sleep* was perhaps borrowed from Shakespeare, Macbeth, act ii. s. 2.

—and wicked dreams abuse  
*The curtain'd sleep.*

553. But he makes the horses of Night headlong in their course, In Quint. Novembr. v. 70.

*Præcipitesque impellit equos.* —

It must be allowed, that *drowsy-frighted* is a very harsh combination. Notwithstanding the Cambridge manuscript exhibits *drowsie-frighted*, yet *drowsie frighted* without a composition, is a more rational and easy reading, and invariably occurs in the editions 1637, 1645, and 1673. That is, "The *drowsy* steeds of "Night, who were *affrighted* on "this occasion, at the *barbarous* "dissonance of Comus's nocturnal "revelry." Milton made the emendation after he had forgot his first idea. Compare Browne, Brit. Past. b. ii. s. i. p. 21.

All-drowsie Night, who in a carre of jet

By steeds of iron-gray drawne through the sky.

And Silvester, of Sleep, Du Bart. p. 316. edit. fol. ut supr.

And in a noysless coach, all darkly dight,

Takes with him silence, *drowsinesse*, and night.

Mr. Bowle conjectures *drowsie-frighted*, that is, charged or loaded with drowsiness.

We are to recollect, that Milton has here transferred the horses and chariot of *Night* to

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*Sleep.* And so has Claudian, Bell. Gild. 213.

Humentes jam Noctis equos; Lethæ-  
aque somnus

Frena regens, tacito volvebat sydera  
cursum.

And Statius, Theb. ii. 59.

—Sopor obivus illi  
Noctis agebat equos.

T. Warton.

555. *At last a soft and solemn breathing sound &c.*] No doubt but that our poet in these charming lines imitated his favourite Shakespeare, Twelfth Night at the beginning.

That strain again, it had a dying fall;  
O, it came o'er my ear, like the sweet  
scotch,

That breathes upon a bank of violets,  
Stealing and giving odour.

Thyer.

555. The idea is strongly implied in these lines of Jonson's Vision of Delight, a Masque presented at Court in the Christmas of 1617, vol. vi. 21.

Yet let it like an odour rise  
To all the senses here;  
And fall like sleep upon their eyer,  
Or musicke in their eare.

But the thought appeared before, where it is exquisitely expressed, in Bacon's Essays. "And because "the breath of flowers is farre "sweeter in the aire, where it "comes and goes like the warbling "of musicke." Of Gardens, Ess. xvi. Milton means the gradual increase and diffusion of odour in the process of distilling perfumes; for he had at first written "slow-distill'd."

In the edition of 1673, we

G

Rose like a steam of rich distill'd perfumes,  
 And stole upon the air, that even Silence  
 Was took ere she was ware, and wish'd she might  
 Deny her nature, and be never more  
 Still to be so displac'd. I was all ear, 560  
 And took in strains that might create a soul

have *steam* for *steam*. A manifest oversight of the compositor.

*Solemn* is used to characterize the music of the nightingale, Par. L. iv. 648. "Night's *solemn* bird." And she is called "the *solemn* nightingale," vii. 435. T. Warton.

Before these two lines were corrected as they are at present, the author had written them thus,

At last a *sweet* and *solemn* breathing  
 sound  
 Rose like a steam of *slow* distill'd per-  
 fumes.

557.—*that even Silence &c.*] We see in these three lines the luxuriance of a juvenile poet's fancy; there is something more correct and manly in three words upon a like occasion in the *Paradise Lost*, iv. 604.

Silence was pleas'd—

But in a young genius there should always be something to lop and prune away. As Cicero says, De Orat. ii. 21. *volo esse in adolescentie, unde aliquid amputem.* If there is not something redundant in youth, there will be something deficient in age.

560.—*I was all ear.*] So Catullus, of a rich perfume, *carm.* xiii. 13.

Quod tu cum effacies, deos rogas  
 Totum ut te faciant, Fabulle, *nosum.*

There is the same thought, in Jonson's *Underw.* vol. vi. 451.

And in Shakespeare, but differently expressed. Winter's Tale, act iv. s. 3. Of hearing a song. "*All their other senses*" "stuck in their ears." And in the *Tempest*, Prospero says, "No *tongues, all eyes.*" Compare also Herrick's *Hesperides*, p. 21. edit. 1648. 8vo.

When I thy singing next shall hear  
 He wish I might turne *ALL* to *ear*.

This thought, and expression, occurs first in Drummond's *Sonnets*, 1616. Signat. D. 2. To the nightingale.

Such sad lamenting straines, that  
 Night attends,  
 Become all *ear*, starres stay to heare  
 thy plight, &c.

T. Warton.

561.—*that might create a soul*  
*Under the ribs of death:]*

The general image of creating a soul by harmony is again from Shakespeare. But the particular one of a soul under the ribs of death, which is extremely grotesque, is taken from a picture in Alciat's emblems, where a soul in the figure of an infant is represented within the ribs of a skeleton, as in its prison. This curious picture is presented by Quarles. *Warburton.*

*That might create a soul*, that is, says Mr. Sympson, *recreate, am-  
 vixor:* and Mr. Theobald pro-  
 posed to read *recreate*,

And took in strains might *recreate* a  
 soul:

Under the ribs of death: but O ere long  
 Too well I did perceive it was the voice  
 Of my most honour'd Lady, your dear Sister.  
 Amaz'd I stood, harrow'd with grief and fear, 565  
 And O poor hapless nightingale thought I,  
 How sweet thou sing'st, how near the deadly snare!  
 Then down the lawns I ran with headlong haste,  
 Through paths and turnings often trod by day,  
 Till guided by mine ear I found the place, 570  
 Where that damn'd wizard hid in sly disguise  
 (For so by certain signs I knew) had met  
 Already, ere my best speed could prevent,  
 The aidless innocent Lady his wish'd prey,  
 Who gently ask'd if he had seen such two, 575  
 Supposing him some neighbour villager.  
 Longer I durst not stay, but soon I guess'd  
 Ye were the two she meant; with that I sprung  
 Into swift flight, till I had found you here,  
 But further know I not.

2. BROTHER.

O night and shades, 580  
 How are ye join'd with hell in triple knot,  
 Against th' unarmed weakness of one virgin

but I presume they knew not of  
 the allusion just mentioned.

563. *Too well I did perceive*]  
 In the Manuscript it is .

Too well I might perceive.

565. —*harrow'd with grief and  
 fear,*] So in Shakespeare, Hamlet,  
 act i. s. 1. Horatio of the Ghost,

—it harrows me with fear and  
 wonder.

And s. 8. the Ghost to Hamlet,

I could a tale unfold, whose lightest  
 word  
 Would harrow up thy soul.

574. *The aidless innocent Lady*]  
 At first he had written *helpless*,  
 but altered it, that word occur-  
 ring again within a few lines  
 afterwards.

Alone, and helpless! Is this the confidence  
You gave me, Brother?

ELDER BROTHER.

Yes, and keep it still,

Lean on it safely; not a period 585  
Shall be unsaid for me: against the threats  
Of malice or of sorcery, or that power  
Which erring men call Chance, this I hold firm,  
Virtue may be assail'd, but never hurt,  
Surpris'd by unjust force, but not intrall'd; 590  
Yea even that which mischief meant most harm,  
Shall in the happy trial prove most glory:  
But evil on itself shall back recoil,  
And mix no more with goodness, when at last  
Gather'd like scum, and settled to itself, 595  
It shall be in eternal restless change  
Self-fed, and self-consum'd: if this fail,  
The pillar'd firmament is rottenness,

584. *Yes, and keep it still, &c.*] This confidence of the *Elder Brother* in favour of the final efficacy of virtue holds forth a very high strain of philosophy, delivered in as high strains of eloquence and poetry. *T. Warburton.*

589. *Virtue may be assail'd, but never hurt.*] Milton seems in this line to allude to the famous answer of the philosopher to a tyrant, who threatened him with death, *Thou may'st kill me, but thou canst not hurt me.* And it may be observed, that not only in this speech, but also in many others of this poem, our author has made great use of the noble

and exalted sentiments of the Stoics concerning the power of virtue. *Thyer.*

597. *Self-fed, and self-consum'd:*] This image is wonderfully fine. It is taken from the conjectures of astronomers concerning the dark spots, which from time to time appear on the surface of the sun's body, and after a while disappear again, which they suppose to be the scum of that fiery matter, which first breeds it, and then breaks thro' and consumes it. *Warburton.*

598. *The pillar'd firmament*] See *Paradise Regained*, iv. 455. and the note there.

And earth's base built on stubble. But come let's on.  
 Against th' opposing will and arm of heaven 600  
 May never this just sword be lifted up ;  
 But for that damn'd magician, let him be girt  
 With all the grisly legions that troop  
 Under the sooty flag of Acheron,  
 Harpies and Hydras, or all the monstrous forms 605  
 'Twixt Africa and Ind, I'll find him out,  
 And force him to restore his purchase back,  
 Or drag him by the curls to a foul death,  
 Curs'd as his life.

602. *But for that damn'd magician, let him be girt, &c.]*  
 Compare P. R. iv. 626. et seq.  
*T. Warton.*

605. *Harpies and hydras, or all the monstrous forms.]* Or spoils the metre. Yet an anapaest may be admitted in the third part, see v. 636. 682. Although this last is not an anapaest. But any foot of three syllables may be admitted in this place of an iambic verse, if the licence be not taken too frequently. *Hurd.*

*Harpies and hydras* are a combination in an enumeration of monsters, in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, p. 206. fol. ut supr.

And th' ugly Gorgons, and the  
 Sphinxes fell,  
*Hydras* and *harpies* gan to yawne  
 and yel.

*T. Warton.*

605. —or *all the monstrous forms]* In Milton's *Manuscript*, and the edition of 1637 it is, or all the monstrous *bugs*; which word was in more familiar use formerly, and hence *bugbear*.

605. —*all the monstrous forms*  
 'Twixt Africa and Ind,]

Such as those which Carlo and Ubaldo meet, in going to Armida's enchanted mountain, in Fairfax's *Tasso*, c. xv. 51.

All monsters which hot Africke forth  
 doth send  
 'Twixt Nilus, Atlas, and the southern  
 cape,  
 Where all there met.

Milton often copies Fairfax, and not his original. *T. Warton.*

607. —to restore his purchase back,] He had written at first

—to release his new got prey.

608. —to a foul death,  
 Curs'd as his life.]

In the *Manuscript*, and in the edition of 1637, it is

—and cleave his scalp  
 Down to the hips :

and he has preserved the same image in his *Paradise Lost*, speaking of Moloch, vi. 361.

Down cloven to the waist, with shat-  
 ter'd arms  
 And uncouth pain fed bellowing :

and no wonder he was led to it by his favourite romances, and his favourite plays. Jonson has

## SPIRIT.

Alas! good vent'rous Youth,

I love thy courage yet, and bold emprise; 610  
 But here thy sword can do thee little stead;  
 Far other arms, and other weapons must  
 Be those that quell the might of hellish charms:  
 He with his bare wand can unthread thy joints,  
 And crumble all thy sinews.

the same image in the Fox, act  
 iii. s. 8.

—O that his well driv'n sword  
 Had been so covetous to have cleft me  
 down  
*Unto the navel.*

And Shakespeare in Macbeth,  
 act i. s. 2.

Till he unseam'd him *from the navel*  
*to th' chops.*

I know Mr. Warburton reads  
 here

—*from the nape to th' chops,*

and supports it very ingeniously;  
 but if any alteration were neces-  
 sary, I should rather read

Till he unseam'd him *from the chops*  
*to th' navel.*

Nay Shakespeare carries it so  
 far as to make Coriolanus cleave  
 men down from head to foot.  
 Coriolanus, act ii. s. 6.

—his sword, (death's stamp)  
 Where it did mark, it took *from face*  
*to foot.*

But notwithstanding these in-  
 stances, I believe every reader  
 will agree that Milton altered  
 the passage much for the better  
 in the edition of 1645.

Or drag him by the curls *to a foul*  
*death,*  
*Curs'd as his life.*

610. —and bold emprise;] See

the same, Paradise Lost, xi. 642.  
 Spenser uses the word, Faery  
 Queen, b. ii. cant. 3. st. 35.

—whose warlike name  
 Is far renown'd through many a bold  
*emprise.*

And Fairfax, cant. ii. st. 77.

If you achieve renown by this *em-*  
*prise.*

611. *But here thy sword can do*  
*thee little stead; &c.]* Virgil, *Æn.*  
 ii. 521.

Non tall auxilio, nec defensoribus  
 istis  
 Tempus eget:

See *Æn.* vi. 290. Tasso, cant. xv.  
 st. 49. Richardson.

Before the poet had corrected  
 this line, he had written,

But here thy steel can do thee *small*  
*avail.*

613. *Be those that quell the*  
*might of hellish charms:]* Com-  
 pare Shakespeare's K. Richard  
 III. act iii. s. 4.

—With devilish plots  
 Of damned witchcraft; and that have  
 prevail'd  
 Upon my body with their *hellish*  
*charms.*

T. Warton.

614. *He with his bare wand*  
*can unthread thy joints,*  
*And crumble all thy sinews.]*  
 He had written at first,



ELDER BROTHER.

Why prythee, Shepherd, 615

How durst thou then thyself approach so near,  
As to make this relation?

SPIRIT.

Care and utmost shifts

How to secure the Lady from surprisal,  
Brought to my mind a certain shepherd lad,  
Of small regard to see to, yet well skill'd 620  
In every virtuous plant and healing herb,  
That spreads her verdant leaf to th' morning ray:  
He lov'd me well, and oft would beg me sing,

He with his bare wand can unquilt  
thy joints,  
And crumble every sinew.

614. So in Prospero's commands to Ariel, Temp. act iv. s. ult.

Go, charge my goblins, that they  
grind their joints  
With dry convulsions, shorten up  
their sinews  
With aged cramps.

T. Warton.

622. —to th' morning ray:]  
See note on Lycidas, 142. T.  
Warton.

623. He lov'd me well, &c.] I  
cannot help thinking that Milton  
designed here a compliment to  
his schoolfellow and friend  
Charles Deodati, who was bred  
to the study of physic, and had  
an exceeding love for our au-  
thor,

Pectus amans nostri, tamque fidele  
caput.

Eleg. prim. ad Deodatum.

and used to hear him repeat his  
verses,

Te quoque pressa manent patriis me-  
ditata ciculis,

Tu mihi, cui recitem, judicis instar  
eris.

Eleg. sext. ad Deodatum.

and sometimes explained to him  
the nature and virtues of sim-  
ples,

Tu mihi percurres medicos, tua gra-  
mina, succos,  
Helleborumque, hamilesque crocos,  
foliumque hyacinthi,  
Quasque habet ista palus herbas, ar-  
tesque medentium.

Epitaph. Damonis.

623. —and oft would beg me  
sing, &c.] Mr. Bowle remarks  
that here is an imitation of Spen-  
ser, in C. Clout's come home again,  
yet with great improvement.

He sitting me beside in that same  
shade,  
Provoked me to play some pleasant  
fit;  
And when he heard the musick which  
I made,  
He found himself full greatly pleas'd  
at it.

Such parallels are of little more  
importance, than to shew what  
poets were familiar to Milton.  
T. Warton.

Which when I did, he on the tender grass  
 Would sit, and hearken ev'n to ecstasy, 625  
 And in requital ope his leathern scrip,  
 And show me simples of a thousand names,  
 Telling their strange and vigorous faculties :  
 Amongst the rest a small unsightly root,  
 But of divine effect, he cull'd me out; 630  
 The leaf was darkish, and had prickles on it,  
 But in another country, as he said,  
 Bore a bright golden flow'r, but not in this soil:

627. —of a thousand names,]  
 It was at first

—of a thousand *hues*.

632. *But in another country, as  
 he said,*

*Bore a bright golden flow'r, but  
 not in this soil :*

*Unknown, and like esteem'd,  
 &c.]*

So these verses are read in Milton's own Manuscript, and in all his editions. For *like esteemed* we have in Mr. Fenton's edition *little esteemed*, and Mr. Warburton proposes to read *light esteemed*: and Mr. Seward, in note 25 upon the Faithful Shepherdess, has very ingeniously reformed the whole passage thus.

*But in another country, as he said,  
 Bore a bright golden flow'r, but in  
 this soil*

*Unknown and light esteem'd.*

The middle verse indeed hath a redundant syllable; and before I had seen Mr. Seward's emendation, I had proposed either to leave out the monosyllable *not*,

*Bore a bright golden flow'r, but in  
 this soil*

*Unknown and like esteem'd;*

or to leave out the monosyllable

*but*, to avoid its recurring in two lines together,

*But in another country, as he said,  
 Bore a bright golden flow'r, not in  
 this soil :*

But then on the other hand it must be said, that such redundant or hypercatalectic verses sometimes occur in Milton. We had one a little before, ver. 605.

*Harpies, and hydras, or all the  
 monstrous forms.*

And for *like esteemed* I think it may be defended without any alteration. *Unknown* and *like esteemed*, that is, *Unknown* and *unesteemed*, *Unknown* and *esteemed* accordingly.

632. It is true that "such redundant verses sometimes occur in Milton," but the redundant syllable is never, I think, found in the second, third, or fourth, foot. The passage before us is certainly corrupt, or at least inaccurate, and had better been given thus,

*But in another country, as he said,  
 Bore a bright golden flow'r; not in  
 this soil*

*Unknown, though light esteem'd.*

*Hurd.*

Mr. Seward's emendation is

Unknown, and like esteem'd, and the dull swain  
Treads on it daily with his clouted shoon; 635  
And yet more med'cinal is it than that moly

very plausible and ingenious. But to say nothing of the editions under Milton's own inspection, I must object, that if an argument be here drawn for the alteration from roughness or redundancy of verse, innumerable instances of the kind occur in our author. See P. R. i. 175. and 302. and the notes there. *T. Warton.*

634. —[dull] Unobservant. *T. Warton.*

635. —[clouted shoon;] So Shakespeare, 2 Henry VI. act iv. s. 3. Cade speaks,

We will not leave one lord, one gentleman;  
Spare none but such as go in clouted shoon.

635. Add the following passage from Cymbeline, act iv. s. 2. which not only exhibits but contains a comment on the phrase in question.

—I thought he slept, and put  
My clouted brogues from off my feet,  
whose rudeness  
Answer'd my steps too loud.

*Clouts* are thin and narrow plates of iron affixed with hob nails to the soles of the shoes of rustics. These made too much noise. The word *brogues* is still used for shoes among the peasantry of Ireland. *T. Warton.*

636. And yet more med'cinal is it &c.] At first he had thus written these two lines,

And yet more med'cinal than that  
ancient moly  
Which Mercury to wise Ulysses gave.

Our author hath formed the plan

of this poem very much upon the episode of Circe in the *Odyssey*; and here he himself plainly points out the parallel between them. The characters of Circe and her son Comus very much resemble each other. They have both of them a potent wand and enchanting cup, and the effects of both are much the same: and they are both to be opposed in the same manner with force and violence. Mercury bids Ulysses to rush upon Circe with his drawn sword, as if he would kill her. *Odys. x. 294.*

Δὲ τότε ἐν ἔφεσι εἴην ἱερουργοῖσι σάκεα  
μυρεῖν  
Κίχρη κραίειν, ὅστις κταμένοισι πίνουσιν.

and the attendant Spirit exhorts the two Brothers to assault Comus in the same manner,

—with dauntless hardihood,  
And brandish'd blade rush on him  
&c.

And they are both overcome in the same manner, Circe by the virtues of the herb *moly*, which Mercury gave to Ulysses, and Comus by the virtues of *hæmony*, which the attendant Spirit gives to the two Brothers. But the parallel holds no farther. Our author varied here from his original with great judgment. The Lady is released in a much more decent and modest manner than the companions of Ulysses.

636. Drayton introduces a shepherd "his sundry simples  
"sorting," who, among other rare plants, produces moly. *Mus. Elys. Nymph. v. vol. iv. p. 1489.*

That Hermes once to wise Ulysses gave;  
He call'd it hæmony, and gavé it me,

Here is my moly of much fame ·  
In magicks often used.

It is not agreed, whether Milton's hæmony, more virtuous than moly, and "of sovereign use 'gainst all enchantments," is a real or poetical plant. Drayton, in the lines following the passage just quoted, recites with many more of the kind,

Here holy vervain, and here dill,  
'Gainst witchcraft much awayting.

But Milton, through the whole of the context, had his eye on Fletcher, who perhaps availed himself of Drayton, Faith. Shep. act ii. s. 1. vol. iii. p. 127. The shepherdess Clorin is skilled in the medicinal and superstitious uses of plants.

You, that these hands did crop long  
before prime,  
Give me your names, and next your  
hidden power.  
This is the clove, bearing a yellow  
flower, &c.

In Browne's Inner Temple Masque, written on Milton's subject, Circe attended by the Sirens uses moly for a charm, p. 135. Our author again alludes to the powers of moly for "quelling the might of hellish charms." EL. i. 87.

Et vitare procul malefidæ infamia  
Circes  
Atria, divinæ molyos usus ope.

Compare Sandys's Ovid, p. 256. 479. edit. 1632. And Drayton's Nymphid. vol. ii. p. 463. And Polyolb. s. xii. vol. iii. p. 919.

In Tasso, Ubaldo, a virtuous magician, performs his operations, by the hidden powers of

herbs and springs. Gier. lib. xiv. 42.

Qual in se virtù celi d' l' herba d'  
l' fonte.

In the Faerie Queene, the Palmer has a *virtuous staffe*, which, like Milton's moly and hæmony, defeats all monstrous apparitions and diabolical illusions. And Tasso's Ubaldo carries a staff of the same sort, when he enters the palace of Armida, xiv. 73. xv. 49. T. Warton.

637. *That Hermes once &c.]*  
Ovid, Metam. xiv. 289.

—Nec tantæ cladis ab illo  
Certior, ad Circe ultor venisset  
Ulysses:  
Pacifer huic dederat florem Cyllenius  
album,  
Moly vocant superi, &c.

From Homer, Odyss. K. v. 305. T. Warton.

638. *He call'd it hæmony, &c.]*  
I conceive this to be neither the *anemone* nor the *hemionion* described by Pliny, though their names are something alike: and it is in vain to enquire what it is; I take it to be (like the *moly* to which it is compared) a plant that grows only in poetical ground. It cannot be the *hemionion* particularly, because Pliny says that this bears no flower. *Hemionion* vocant, spargentem juncos tenues, folia parva, asperis locis nascentem, austero sapore, nunquam florentem. Lib. xxv. sect. 20. nec caulem, nec florem, nec semen habet. Id. lib. xxvii. s. 17. And yet Mr. Thyer imagines it to be the same, and what in English we call *spleenwort*: and if his conjecture

And bad me keep it as of sovereign use  
 'Gainst all enchantments, mildew, blast, or damp, 640  
 Or ghastly furies' apparition.  
 I purs'd it up, but little reck'ning made,  
 Till now that this extremity compell'd:  
 But now I find it true; for by this means  
 I knew the foul inchanter though disguis'd, 645  
 Enter'd the very lime-twigs of his spells,  
 And yet came off: if you have this about you,

be admitted, his subsequent reasoning is very ingenious. It is no unusual thing, says he, to find in the old writers upon the nature of herbs this virtue attributed to certain plants; but I can meet with no authority for Milton's imputing it to *hæmony* or *spleenwort*. Perhaps it may be thought refining too much to conjecture, that he meant to hint, that, as this root was esteemed a sovereign remedy against the spleen, it must consequently be a preservative against enchantments, apparitions, &c. which are generally nothing else but the sickly fancies and imaginations of vaporish and splenetic complexions.

641. *Or ghastly furies' apparition.*] Peck supposes that the furies were never believed to appear, and proposes to read "*faery's* apparition." But Milton means any frightful appearance raised by magic. Among the spectres, which *the fiend* had raised around our Saviour in the wilderness, were *furies*. See P. R. iv. 422. The furies, which are classical, often enter into the incantations of the later Gothic romance. T. Warton.

642. *I purs'd it up,*] It was customary in families to have herbs in *store* not only for medical and culinary, but for superstitious, purposes. In some houses, rue and rosemary were constantly kept for good luck. See the *Winter's Tale*, act iv. s. 3; and *Hamlet*, act iv. s. 5; and *Greene's Quip* for an upstart Courtier. T. Warton.

642. —but little *reck'ning made,*] I thought but little of it. So *Lycidas*, 116.

Of other care they little *reck'ning make*.

And Daniel, *Civil Warres*, b. i. 92.

Yet hereof no important *reck'ning makes*.

T. Warton.

647. —if you have this about you, &c.] In the Manuscript the following lines were thus written at first, and afterwards corrected.

(As I will give you as we go [or on the way]) you may  
 Boldly assault the *necromantic* hall;  
 Where if he be, with sudden violence  
 And brandish'd blades rush on him,  
 break his glass,  
 And pour the luscious *potion* on the  
 ground,  
 And seize his wand.

(As I will give you when we go) you may  
 Boldly assault the necromancer's hall;  
 Where if he be, with dauntless hardihood, 650  
 And brandish'd blade rush on him, break his glass,  
 And shed the luscious liquor on the ground,  
 But seize his wand; though he and his curs'd crew

647. The notion of facing danger, and conquering an enemy, by carrying a charm, which was often an herb, is not uncommon. See Samson Agonistes, 1130, and the notes on v. 1132. Milton, in furnishing the Elder Brother with the plant hæmony when like a knight he is to attack the necromancer Comus, and even to assail his hall, notwithstanding that the idea is originally founded in Homer's moly, certainly alluded to the charming herb of the romantic combat. *The assault on the necromancer's hall* is also an idea of romance. See the adventure of the Black Castle in the Seven Champions of Christendom, where the business is finally achieved by an attack on the hall of the Necromancer Leoger, p. ii. ch. 9. *T. Warton.*

651. *And brandish'd blade rush on him.*] Thus Ulysses assaults Circe offering her cup, with a drawn sword. Ovid, Metam. xiii. 293.

—Intrat

Ille domum Circes, et ad insidiosa  
 vocatus

Pocula, conantem virga mulcere capillos

Reppulit, et stricto pavidam deterruit  
 ense.

See Homer, Odyss. x. 294, 321. But Milton in his allusions to Circe's story has followed Ovid more than Homer. *T. Warton.*

651. —*break his glass*  
*And shed the luscious liquor on*  
*the ground,*  
*But seize his wand;]*

This is in imitation of Spenser, Faery Queen, b. ii. cant. xii. st. 49. where Sir Guyon serves Pleasure's porter in the same manner.

But he his idle courtesy defied,  
 And overthrew his bowl disdainfully,  
 And broke his staff, with which he  
 charmed semblants sly.

651. But he also copies Spenser, and more closely, where Sir Guyon breaks the golden cup of the enchantress Excesse, ii. xii. 57.

So she to Guyon offered it to taste:  
 Who taking it out of her tender  
 hand,  
 The cup to ground did violently cast,  
 That all to pieces it was broken foud,  
 And with the liquor stained all the  
 lond.

*T. Warton.*

653. *But seize his wand.]* In the Tempest, in the intended attack upon the magician Prospero, Caliban gives Stephano another sort of necessary precaution without which nothing else could be done, a. iii. s. 2.

—Remember

*First to possess his books.*

But Prospero has also a staff as well as book, a. v. s. 1. Armida in Tasso has both a book and wand. Gier. Lib. *T. Warton.*

Fierce sign of battle make, and menace high,  
Or like the sons of Vulcan vomit smoke, 655  
Yet will they soon retire, if he but shrink.

## ELDER BROTHER.

Thyrsis, lead on apace, I'll follow thee,  
And some good Angel bear a shield before us.

The Scene changes to a stately palace, set out with all manner of deliciousness: soft music, tables spread with all dainties. Comus appears with his rabble, and the Lady set in an enchanted chair, to whom he offers his glass, which she puts by, and goes about to rise.

## COMUS.

Nay, lady, sit; if I but wave this wand

657. —*I'll follow thee, &c.*] In the Manuscript it is *I follow thee*, and the next line was at first,

And good heav'n cast his best regard  
upon us.

And then in the Manuscript the stage direction is as follows. *The scene changes to a stately palace set out with all manner of deliciousness, tables spread with all dainties. Comus is discovered with his rabble: and the Lady set in an enchanted chair. She offers to rise.*

658. *And some good angel bear a shield before us.*] Our author has nobly dilated this idea of a guardian-angel, yet not without some particular and express warrant from Scripture, which he has also poetically heightened, in *Samson Agonistes*, v. 1431.

Send me the angel of thy birth, to  
stand

Fast by thy side, who from thy  
father's field

Rode up in flames, after his message  
told

*Of thy conception, and be now a shield  
Of fire.*

*T. Warton.*

659. Here, as we see by the stage-direction, Comus is introduced with his apparatus of incantation. And much after the same manner, Circe enters upon her Charmes of Ulysses in Browne's *Inner Temple Masque*, p. 131. She appears on the stage "quaintly attyred, her haire loose about her shoulders, an anadem of flowers on her head, with a wand in her hand, &c." See Note on *Par. Reg.* ii. 401. *T. Warton.*

659. *Nay, Lady, sit; if I but  
wave this wand,*

*Your nerves are all bound up  
in alabaster.]*

It is with the same magic, and in the same mode, that Prospero threatens Ferdinand, in the *Tempest*, for pretending to resist, a. i. s. 2.

—Come from the ward;

Your nerves are all chain'd up in alabaster, 660  
 And you a statue, or as Daphne was  
 Root-bound, that fled Apollo.

LADY.

Fool, do not boast,  
 Thou canst not touch the freedom of my mind  
 With all thy charms, although this corporal rind  
 Thou hast immanacled, while heav'n sees good. 665

COMUS.

Why are you vex'd, Lady? why do you frown?  
 Here dwell no frowns, nor anger; from these gates  
 Sorrow flies far: See here be all the pleasures

For I can here disarm thee with this  
*stick.*

Come on, obey.— [Else,]  
 Thy nerves are in their infancy again,  
 And have no vigour in them.

Milton here comments upon  
 Shakespeare. *T. Warton.*

661. *And you a statue, &c.]*  
 In the Manuscript it was at first,  
 And you a statue *fixt* as Daphne was  
 Root-bound, that fled Apollo.

662. — *Fool, do not boast,]* He  
 had written thus at first,

Fool, *thou art over-prond*, do not  
 boast.

And this whole speech of the  
 Lady, and the first line of the  
 next speech of Comus were  
 added in the margin; for before,  
 the first speech of Comus was  
 continued thus,

Root-bound, that fled Apollo. Why  
 do you frown? &c.

663. *Thou canst not touch the  
 freedom of my mind  
 With all thy charms.]*

See v. 589. where this stoical  
 idea of the inviolability of virtue  
 is more fully expressed.

Virtue may be assail'd, but never  
 hurt,  
 Surpris'd by unjust force, but not  
 inthrall'd.

*T. Warton.*

665. — *immanacled]* See *T.*  
*Warton's* note on *manacled*, *P. L.*  
*i. 426. E.*

668. — *See here be all the  
 pleasures*

*That fancy can beget on youthful  
 thoughts &c.]* This is a thought  
 of Shakespeare's, but vastly im-  
 proved by our poet in the man-  
 ner of expressing it. *Romeo and  
 Juliet*, act i. sc. 3.

Such comfort as do lusty young men  
 feel,  
 When well-apparell'd April on the  
 heel  
 Of limping winter treads.

*Thyer.*

An echo to Fletcher, *Faithf.*  
*Sheph. a. i. s. 1.*

—Here be woods as green, &c.—  
 Here be all new delights, &c.

And again, p. 128.

—Whose virtues do refine  
 The blood of men, making it free  
 and fair,



That fancy can beget on youthful thoughts,  
 When the fresh blood grows lively, and returns 670  
 Brisk as the April buds in primrose-season.  
 And first behold this cordial julep here,  
 That flames, and dances in his crystal bounds,  
 With spi'rits of balm, and fragrant syrups mix'd.  
 Not that Nepenthes, which the wife of Thone 675

As the first hour it breath'd, or the  
 best air.

T. Warton.

673. *That flames, and dances in his crystal bounds,*] This is an allusion to Prov. xxiii. 31. *Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his colour in the cup, when it moveth itself aright.*

Compare Sams. Agon. 543. Juvenal said much the same of poison, recommended by the same allurements, Sat. x. 27.

—Tunc illa time, cum pocula sumes  
*Gemma, et lato Setinum ardebit in*  
*auro,*

T. Warton.

675. *Not that Nepenthes, &c.*] This *Nepenthes* is first mentioned and described by Homer, and we must fetch our account of it from the original author, Odys. iv. 219.

Εἰς αὐτὴν ἀλλ' ἵκντο Ἑλίου Διὸς ἱερὰ  
 γαίαν.

Λύττα' αὖ' ὡς οἶνο βάλει φαρμάκον, ἵδμεν  
 ἵκντο,

Νεπτιδὲς δ' ἀχέουσι, κακὰν ἰουλὴν  
 ἄπαντων.

Ὅς τοι πατὴρ ἔμιο, ἵκντο κρητὴρ μύθη.  
 Οὐκ αἰ ἱερὴν γὰρ βαλεῖ πατὴρ δακρυ

σάκκον,

Οὐδ' αἰ ἀθανάτων μῆτερ τι πάτερ τι,  
 Οὐδ' αἰ ἀπρωταρδὲς ἀδελφεὶ, ἢ φίλῳ

μῖσος.

Χάλαρ δ' ἦτορ, δ' ὅ' οφθαλμοῖσιν ἔχον.  
 Τὸν Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχει φαρμάκον κρυ

αῖνον,

Ἐλθέ, τα δὲ Πελωπιάδα σφαιρὶ θῶκε  
 παρὰ κρητὴν,

Λύγασσι.

Mean time with genial joy to warm  
 the soul,  
 Bright Helen mix'd a mirth-inspiring  
 bowl:

Temper'd with drugs of sov'reign  
 use t'assuage

The boiling bosom of tumultuous  
 rage:

To clear the cloudy front of wrinkled  
 care,

And dry the tearful sluices of de

spair:

Charm'd with that virtuous draught,  
 th' exalted mind

All sense of woe delivers to the wind.  
 Tho' on the blazing pile his parent

lay,

Or a lov'd brother groan'd his life  
 away,

Or darling son oppress'd by ruffian  
 force

Fell breathless at his feet, a man

gled corse,  
 From morn to eve, impassive and  
 serene,

The man intranc'd would view the  
 deathful scene.

These drugs, so friendly to the joys  
 of life,

Bright Helen learn'd from Thone's  
 imperial wife,

Who sway'd the sceptre, where pro

lific Nile &c. *Fenton.*

Notwithstanding the length of this quotation, I cannot forbear citing Spenser's description of this cordial, and the moral improvement that he has made of it. *Faery Queen*, b. iv. c. iii. st. 43.

Nepenthe is a drink of sov'reign  
 grace,

Devised by the Gods, for to assuage  
 Heart's grief, and bitter gall away

to chase,

In Egypt gave to Jove-born Helena,  
 Is of such pow'r to stir up joy as this,  
 To life so friendly, or so cool to thirst.  
 Why should you be so cruel to yourself,  
 And to those dainty limbs which Nature lent 680  
 For gentle usage, and soft delicacy?  
 But you invert the covenants of her trust,  
 And harshly deal like an ill borrower  
 With that which you receiv'd on other terms,  
 Scorning the unexempt condition 685  
 By which all mortal frailty must subsist,  
 Refreshment after toil, ease after pain,  
 That have been tir'd all day without repast,  
 And timely rest have wanted; but fair Virgin,  
 This will restore all soon.

LADY.

'Twill not, false traitor, 690  
 'Twill not restore the truth and honesty

Which stirs up anguish and contentious rage:  
 Instead thereof sweet peace and quiet  
 age  
 It doth establish in the troubled  
 mind.  
 Few men, but such as sober are and  
 sage,  
 Are by the Gods to drink thereof  
 assign'd;  
 But such as drink, eternal happiness  
 do find.

675. The author of the lively and learned Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, has brought together many particulars of this celebrated drug, and concludes, p. 135. edit. 1.  
 "It is true they are opiates for  
 "pleasure all over the Levant;  
 "but by the best accounts of

"them, they had them originally  
 "from Egypt; and this of *Helen*  
 "appears plainly to be a pro-  
 "duction of that country, and  
 "a custom which can be traced  
 "from Homer to Augustus's  
 "reign, and from thence to the  
 "age preceding our own." *Dr.*  
*J. Warton.*

679. *Why should you &c.*] Instead of the nine following lines, which were added afterwards in the Manuscript, there was only this at first,

*Poor Lady, thou hast need of some re-  
 freshing  
 That hast been tir'd all day &c.*

689. —but fair Virgin,] It was at first, here fair Virgin.

That thou hast banish'd from thy tongue with lies,  
 Was this the cottage, and the safe abode  
 Thou told'st me of? What grim aspects are these,  
 These ugly-headed monsters? Mercy guard me! 695  
 Hence with thy brew'd enchantments, foul deceiver;  
 Hast thou betray'd my credulous innocence  
 With vizard'd falsehood, and base forgery?  
 And wouldst thou seek again to trap me here  
 With liquorish baits fit to insnare a brute? 700  
 Were it a draft for Juno when she banquets,  
 I would not taste thy treasonous offer; none  
 But such as are good men can give good things,  
 And that which is not good, is not delicious  
 To a well-govern'd and wise appetite. 705

COMUS.

O foolishness of men! that lend their ears  
 To those budge doctors of the Stoic fur,

694. —*What grim aspects are these,]* So Drayton, Polyolb. s. xxvii.

*Her grim aspect to see.*

And Spenser, F. Q. v. ix. 48.

—*With griesly grim aspect*  
 Abhorred Murder.

*T. Warton.*

695. *These ugly-headed monsters?]* In Milton's Manuscript, and in his editions, it is *ougly* or *oughly*, which is only an old way of writing *ugly*, as appears from several places in Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, and from Shakespeare's Sonnets in the edition of the year 1609: and care must be taken that the word be not mistaken, as some have mistaken it, for *owly-headed*, Comus's train

being headed like sundry sorts of wild beasts.

696. *Hence with thy brew'd enchantments,]* Magical potions, brewed or compounded of incantatory herbs and poisonous drugs. Shakespeare's Cauldron is a brewed enchantment, but of another kind. *T. Warton.*

698. —*and base forgery?]* In the Manuscript *forgeries*.

702. —*none*

*But such as are good men can give good things,]*  
 This noble sentiment Milton has borrowed from Euripides, Medes, ver. 618.

*Kαὶ οὕτως ἀρετὴς δούη' ὁμιλῶνται ἰχθυῖ.*

707. *To those budge doctors of the Stoic fur,]* The Trinity Ma-

And fetch their precepts from the Cynic tub,  
 Praising the lean and sallow Abstinence.  
 Wherefore did Nature pour her bounties forth, 710  
 With such a full and unwithdrawing hand,  
 Covering the earth with odours, fruits, and flocks,  
 Thronging the seas with spawn innumerable,  
 But all to please, and sate the curious taste?  
 And set to work millions of spinning worms, 715  
 That in their green shops weave the smooth-hair'd silk  
 To deck her sons, and that no corner might  
 Be vacant of her plenty, in her own loins  
 She hutch'd th' all-worshipp'd ore, and precious gems  
 To store her children with: if all the world 720  
 Should in a pet of temp'rance feed on pulse,

nuscript had at first *Stoic gown*, which is better; for *budge* signifies *furred*: but I suppose by *Stoic fur* Milton intended to explain the other obsolete word, though he fell upon a very inaccurate way of doing it. *Warburton*.

Mr. Bowle here cites a passage from Stowe's *Survey of London*, ed. 1618. p. 455. "*Budge-rowe, a streete so called of Budge, furre, and of Skinners dwelling there.*" The place and name still remain. *T. Warton*.

710. *Wherefore did Nature pour her bounties forth, With such a full and unwithdrawing hand.* Silius Italicus, xv. 55.

Quantas ipse Deus lætos generavit in  
 usus  
 Res homini, plenaque dedit bona  
 gaudia dextra?

*Richardson*.

712. *Covering the earth, &c.*]

These verses were thus at first in the Manuscript,

*Covering the-earth with odours, and with fruits,  
 Cramming the seas with spawn innumerable,  
 The fields with cattle, and the air with fowl, &c.*

717. *To deck her sons,*] So he had written at first, then altered it to *adorn*, and afterwards to *deck* again.

719. *She hutch'd,*] That is, *coffered*. Warburton.

*Hutch* is an old word, still in use, for *coffer*. Abp. Chichele gave a borrowing chest to the University of Oxford, which was called *Chichele's hutch*. *T. Warton*.

721. *—feed on pulse,*] So it was at first, then *fetches*; but I suppose the alliteration of *f*s offended, and then he restored *pulse* again.

Drink the clear stream, and nothing wear but frieze,  
 Th' all-giver would be' unthank'd, would be unprais'd,  
 Not half his riches known, and yet despis'd,  
 And we should serve him as a grudging master, 725  
 As a penurious niggard of his wealth,  
 And live like Nature's bastards, not her sons,  
 Who would be quite surcharg'd with her own weight,  
 And strangled with her waste fertility,  
 Th' earth cumber'd, and the wing'd air dark'd with  
     plumes, 730  
 The herds would over-multitude their lords,  
 The sea o'erfraught would swell, and th' unsought  
     diamonds  
 Would so imblaze the forehead of the deep,  
 And so bestud with stars, that they below

727. *And live like Nature's bastards, not her sons,*] In the Manuscript it was at first,

*Living as Nature's bastards, not her sons,*

which latter is an expression taken from Heb. xii. 8. *then are ye bastards, and not sons.*

730. —*dark'd with plumes,*] The image taken from what the ancients said of the air of the northern islands, that it was clogged and darkened with feathers. Warburton.

731. *The herds, &c.*] Mr. Bowle observes, that the tenour of Comus's argument is like that of Clarinda, in B. and Fletcher's *Sea-Voyage*, a. ii. s. 1.

Should all women use this obstinate abstinence,  
 In a few years the whole world would be peopled  
 Only with beasts.

And the observation is still further justified from Milton's great intimacy with the plays of the twin-bards. T. Warton.

732. *The sea o'erfraught &c.*] Mr. Warburton remarks, and I agree with him, that this and the four following lines are exceeding childish: and they were thus written at first,

The sea o'erfraught would heave her  
     waters up  
 Above the shore, and th' unsought  
     diamonds  
 Would so bestud the centre with their  
     star-light,  
 And so imblaze the forehead of the  
     deep,  
 Were they not taken thence, that they  
     below  
 Would grow inur'd to day, and come  
     at last &c.

734. *And so bestud with stars,*] So Drayton in his most elegant epistle from King John to Matilda, which our author, as we

Would grow inur'd to light, and come at last 735  
 To gaze upon the sun with shameless brows.  
 List Lady, be not coy, and be not cozen'd  
 With that same vaunted name Virginitie.  
 Beauty is Nature's coin, must not be horded,  
 But must be current, and the good thereof 740  
 Consists in mutual and partaken bliss,  
 Unsavory in th' enjoyment of itself;  
 If you let slip time, like a neglected rose  
 It withers on the stalk with languish'd head.

shall see, has more largely copied  
 in the remainder of Comus's  
 speech, vol. i. p. 232. Of heaven.

Would she put on her star-bestudded  
 crown.

Sylvester calls the stars "*glist-  
 ing studs*." Du Bart. (p. 147.  
 4to.) D. v. W. 1. And "the gilt  
 "*studs* of the firmament," Ibid.  
 (4to. p. 247.) W. i. D. 7. T.  
 Warton.

737. — and be not cozen'd] In  
 the Manuscript

—nor be not cozen'd.

743. *If you let slip time, like a  
 neglected rose*

*It withers on the stalk with lan-  
 guish'd head.]*

It was at first,

It withers on the stalk, and fades  
 away.

Milton had probably in view a  
 most beautiful comparison of the  
 same kind in Tasso, cant. xvi. st.  
 14, 15. which Spenser has liter-  
 ally translated, b. ii. cant. xii.  
 st. 74, 75. the application and  
 concluding lines of which are  
 these,

Gather therefore the rose, whilst yet  
 is prime,

For soon comes age, that will her  
 pride deflower;  
 Gather the rose of love, whilst yet is  
 time,  
 Whilst loving thou may'st loved be  
 with equal crime:

or as they are, translated by  
 Fairfax,

O gather then the rose, while time  
 thou hast,  
 Short is the day, done when it scant  
 began,  
 Gather the rose of love, while yet  
 thou may'st  
 Loving, be lov'd; embracing, be  
 embrac'd.

And Shakespeare to the same  
 purpose in Venus and Adonis,

Make use of time, let not advantage  
 slip,  
 Beauty within itself would not be  
 wasted.  
 Fair flow'rs that are not gather'd  
 In their prime,  
 Rot and consume themselves in  
 little time.

743. I rather think, we are  
 immediately to refer to a passage  
 in Milton's favourite, the Mid-  
 summer Night's Dream, where  
 Theseus blames Hermione for  
 refusing to marry Demetrius, a.  
 i. s. 1.

But earlier happy is the rose distill'd,

Beauty is nature's brag, and must be shown 745  
 In courts, in feasts, and high solemnities,  
 Where most may wonder at the workmanship ;  
 It is for homely features to keep home,  
 They had their name thence ; coarse complexions

Than that, which withering on the  
 virgin thorn,  
 Grows, lives, and dies, to single  
 blessedness.

*T. Warton.*

745. *Beauty is nature's brag,  
 and must be shewn*

*In courts, in feasts, and high  
 solemnities, &c.]*

So Fletcher, Faith. Sheph. a. i.  
 s. 1. vol. iii. p. 124.

Give not yourself to loneliness, and  
 those graces  
 Hide from the eyes of men, that were  
 intended  
 To live among us swains.

But this argument is pursued  
 more at large in Drayton's Epistle  
 above quoted. I will give  
 some of the more palpable resemblances.

Fie, peevish girl, ungratefull unto  
 nature,  
 Did she to this end frame thee such  
 a creature,  
 That thou her glory should increase  
 thereby,  
 And thou alone should'st scorn society?  
 Why, heaven made beauty, like her-  
 self, to view,  
 Not to be shut up in a smokie mew.  
 A rosy-tinctur'd feature is heaven's  
 gold,  
 Which all men joy to touch, and to  
 behold, &c.

Here we have at least our au-  
 thor's "What need a vermeil-  
 "tinctured lip for that?" And  
 again,

All things that faire, that pure, that  
 glorious beene,

Offer themselves on purpose to be  
 seene, &c.

But a parallelism is as perceptibly  
 marked, in this passage from  
 Daniel's Complaint of Rosamond,  
 st. 74. Works, Lond. 1601. fol.  
 Signat. M. iiij.

What greater torment ever could  
 have beene,  
 Than to enforce the faire to live re-  
 tir'd?

For what is beautie, if not to be seene,  
 Or what is't to be seene, if not ad-  
 mir'd,  
 And, though admir'd, unless it love  
 desired?

Never were cheekes of roses, lockes  
 of amber,  
 Ordained to live imprison'd in a  
 chamber!

Nature created beautie for the view,  
 &c.

Mr. Bowle adds a stanza of Bra-  
 gadocchio's address to Belphebe,  
 in the Faerie Queene, ii. iii. 39.

But what art thou, O Lady, which  
 doost rage  
 In this wilde forest, where no plea-  
 sure is;  
 And doost not it for joyous court ex-  
 change, &c.

*T. Warton.*

748. *It is for homely features  
 to keep home,]* The same turn  
 and manner of expression is in  
 the Two Gentlemen of Verona,  
 at the beginning;

Home-keeping youth have ever  
 homely wits.

749. —*coarse complexions]* It  
 was at first *coarse beetle-brows*.

And cheeks of sorry grain will serve to ply 750  
 The sampler, and to tease the huswife's wool.  
 What need a vermeil-tinctur'd lip for that,  
 Love-darting eyes, or tresses like the morn?  
 There was another meaning in these gifts, 754  
 Think what, and be advis'd, you are but young yet.

## LADY.

I had not thought to have unlock'd my lips  
 In this unhallow'd air, but that this juggler  
 Would think to charm my judgment, as mine eyes,  
 Obtruding false rules prank'd in reason's garb.  
 I hate when vice can bolt her arguments, 760

751. *The sampler, and to tease*  
 &c.] In the Manuscript it is

*The sample, or to tease the huswife's*  
*wool.*

The word *tease* is commonly  
 used in a metaphorical sense,  
 but here we have it in its proper  
 and original signification, *carpere*,  
*vellere*. See Skinner, Junius, &c.

752. — *Vermeil-tinctur'd*] Ed-  
 ward Bendlowes has this epithet  
 to *cheek* in his *Theophila*, cant.  
 i. st. 21. Lond. 1652. We have  
*love-darting* in Sylvester's *Du*  
*Bartas*, p. 399. ed. fol.

Whoso beholds her sweet love-  
*darting eye.*

*T. Warton.*

755. *Think what, and be*  
*advis'd, you are but young yet.*] *He*  
*had written at first,*

*Think what, and look upon this*  
*cordial julep,*

and then followed the verses  
 which are inserted from ver.  
 672 to 705.

756. *I had not thought* &c.])  
 The six following lines are  
 spoken aside. *Sympton.*

759. — *prank'd in reason's garb.*)  
*Dressed, clad.* So Shakespeare,

—your high self,

The gracious mark o' th' land, you  
 have obscur'd

With a swain's wearing, and me,

poor lowly maid,

Most Goddess-like *prankt* up.

*Winter's Tale.* Peck.

*Prank* implies a false or af-  
 fected decoration. Drayton,  
*Heroic. Epist. vol. i. p. 335.*

To *prank* old wrinkles up in new  
 attire.

*T. Warton.*

760. *I hate when vice can bolt*  
*her arguments,*] That is, *sift.* So  
 Chaucer,

.But I ne cannot *boulte* it to the  
*brenne.*

*Warburton.*

In the construction of a mill, a  
 part of the machine is called the  
*boulting-mill*, which separates  
 the flour from the bran. Chaucer,  
*Nonnes Pr. T. 1355.*

But I ne cannot *bolt* it to the *brenne*,  
 As can that holy doctor saint Austen.

That is, "I cannot argue, and



And virtue has no tongue to check her pride,  
 Impostor, do not charge most innocent Nature,  
 As if she would her children should be riotous  
 With her abundance ; she good cateress  
 Means her provision only to the good, 765  
 That live according to her sober laws,  
 And holy dictate of spare temperance :  
 If every just man, that now pines with want,  
 Had but a moderate and beseeming share  
 Of that which lewdly-pamper'd luxury 770  
 Now heaps upon some few with vast excess,  
 Nature's full blessings would be well dispens'd  
 In unsuperfluous even proportion,  
 And she no whit incumber'd with her store,  
 And then the giver would be better thank'd, 775

"sift the matter to the bottom,  
 "with the subtilty of saint  
 "Austin." So Spenser, F. Q. ii.  
 iv. 24.

Saying he now had *boulled* all the  
*floure*.

And our author himself, Animad.  
 Remonstr. Def. &c. "To sift  
 "Mass into no Mass, and popish  
 "into no popish: yet saving this  
 "passing fine *sophisticall* *boulting*  
 "hutch, &c." Pr. W. vol. i. 84.  
 In some of the Inns of Court, I  
 believe the exercises or disputa-  
 tions in law are still called *boul-*  
*tings*. So Shakespeare, *Coriolan*.  
 act iii. s. 1.

—Is ill school'd

In *boulled* language, *meal* and *bran*  
 together

He throws without distinction.

It is the same allusion in the  
*Merch. of Ven.* act i. s. 1. "His

"*reasons* are as two grains of  
 "wheat hid in two bushels of  
 "chaff; you shall seek all day  
 "ere you find them, &c." The  
 meaning of the whole context is  
 this, "I am offended when vice  
 "pretends to dispute and reason,  
 "for it always uses sophistry."  
*T. Warton.*

Rp. Newton indeed rather  
 understands the word, to *dart*, to  
*shoot*, from the substantive *bolt*  
 for *arrow*. And Dr. Johnson  
 explains to *bolt*, "to blurt out  
 "or throw out precipitantly,"  
 citing the passage before us.  
 See his *Dictionary*. But he has  
 not less than six quotations  
 which exhibit, in fact, the meta-  
 phorical sense of the word here  
 contended for by Warburton  
 and Warton, and which tend to  
 confirm their interpretation of it.  
*E.*

His praise due paid ; for swinish gluttony  
 Ne'er looks to Heav'n amidst his gorgeous feast,  
 But with besotted base ingratitude  
 Crams, and blasphemes his feeder. Shall I go on ?  
 Or have I said enough ? To him that dares 780  
 Arm his profane tongue with contemptuous words  
 Against the sun-clad pow'r of Chastity,  
 Fain would I something say, yet to what end ?  
 Thou hast nor ear, nor soul to apprehend  
 The sublime notion, and high mystery, 785  
 That must be utter'd to unfold the sage  
 And serious doctrine of virginity,  
 And thou art worthy that thou shouldst not know  
 More happiness than this thy present lot.  
 Enjoy your dear wit, and gay rhetoric, 790  
 That hath so well been taught her dazzling fence,  
 Thou art not fit to hear thyself convinc'd ;  
 Yet should I try, the uncontrolled worth  
 Of this pure cause would kindle my rapt spirits  
 To such a flame of sacred vehemence, 795

779. — *Shall I go on ?* From hence to ver. 806. in Comus's speech, that is twenty-seven verses, are not in the Manuscript, but were added afterwards.

785. *The sublime notion, and high mystery, &c.* That Milton's notions about love and chastity were extremely refined and delicate, not only appears from this poem, but also from many passages in his prose-works, particularly in the Apology for Smectymnus, where he is defending himself against the charge of lewdness which his adversaries had very unjustly laid against him. *Thyer.*

Compare v. 453. et seq.

So dear to heav'n is saintly chastity,  
&c.

And see the notes, P. L. viii. 589. and 615. *E.*

791. *That hath so well been taught her dazzling fence,* We have the substantive *fence* in Shakespeare, *Much ado about Nothing*, act v. s. 1.

Despight his nice *fence*, and his active practice.

And King John, act ii. s. 3.

*Teach us some fence.*

*T. Warton.*

That dumb things would be mov'd to sympathize,  
And the brute earth would lend her nerves, and shake,  
Till all thy magic structures rear'd so high,  
Were shatter'd into heaps o'er thy false head.

## COMUS.

She fables not, I feel that I do fear 800  
Her words set off by some superior power;  
And though not mortal, yet a cold shudd'ring dew  
Dips me all o'er, as when the wrath of Jove  
Speaks thunder, and the chains of Erebus  
To some of Saturn's crew. I must dissemble, 805  
And try her yet more strongly. Come, no more,  
This is mere moral babble, and direct  
Against the canon laws of our foundation;  
I must not suffer this, yet 'tis but the lees

797. *And the brute earth, &c.*] The unfeeling earth would sympathise and assist. It is Horace's "*Bruta tellus*," *Od. i. xxxiv.*  
11. *T. Warton.*

800. *She fables not, &c.*] These six lines too are aside. *Sympton.*

807. *This is mere moral babble, &c.*] These lines were thus at first in the Manuscript.

*This is mere moral stuff, the very lees  
And settlings of a melancholy blood:  
But this will cure all strait, &c.*

808. *Against the canon laws of our foundation.*] *Canon laws*, a joke! *Warburton.*

Here is a ridicule on establishments, and the canon law now greatly encouraged by the church. Perhaps on the Canons of the Church, now rigidly enforced, and at which Milton frequently glances in his prose tracts. He calls Gratian "the compiler of canon-iniquity."

*Pr. W. i. 211.* In his book on Reformation, he speaks of "an insulting and only canon-wise prelate." *Pr. W. vol. i. 7.* And his arguments on Divorce, afford frequent opportunities of exposing what he calls the *Ignorance and Iniquity of the Canon-Law.* See particularly, *ch. iii. T. Warton.*

809 — *— Yet 'tis but the lees  
And settlings of a melancholy blood.]*

I like the Manuscript reading best,

"This is mere moral stuff, the very lees."

*Yet is bad. But very inaccurate. Hurd.*

So in *Sams. Agon. 599.*

Believe not these suggestions, which proceed  
From anguish of the mind and humours black,  
That mingle with the fancy.

*T. Warton.*

And settlings of a melancholy blood: 810  
 But this will cure all strait, one sip of this  
 Will bathe the drooping spirits in delight  
 Beyond the bliss of dreams. Be wise, and taste.—

The Brothers rush in with swords drawn, wrest his glass out of his hand, and break it against the ground; his rout make sign of resistance, but are all driven in; The attendant Spirit comes in.

## SPIRIT.

What, have you let the false inchanter scape?  
 O ye mistook, ye should have snatch'd his wand 815

811. — *One sip of this  
 Will bathe the drooping spirits  
 in delight,  
 Beyond the bliss of dreams.]*  
 So Fletcher, Faithf. Sheph. act  
 iv. s. 1. vol. iii p. 164.

— *It passeth dreams,  
 Or madmen's fancy, when the many  
 streams  
 Of new imaginations rise and fall.*

Compare the delicious but deadly fountain of Armida in Tasso,  
 Gier. Lib. e. xiv. 74.

*Ch'un picciol sorso di sue lucide onde  
 Inebria l' alma tosto, e la fai lieta,  
 &c.*

But Milton seems to have remembered Fairfax's version.

*One sup* therefore the drinker's heart  
 doth bring  
 To sudden joy, whence laughter  
 vaine doth rise, &c.

See also Parad. L. b. ix. 1046.  
 and 1008. Perhaps *Bathe* is  
 in Spenser's sense, F. Q. i. vii. 4.

And *bathe* in plesunce of the joyous  
 shade.

See Upton, Gl. F. Q. in V.  
*Bathe.* T. Warton.

814. *What, have you let the false  
 inchanter scape?*] Before this  
 verse the stage direction is in  
 the Manuscript as follows. *The  
 Brothers rush in, strike his glass  
 down; the shapes moke as though  
 they would resist, but are all driven  
 in. Dæmon enters with them. And  
 the verse was thus at first,*

*What, have you let the false inchanter  
 pass?*

815. *O ye mistook, ye should  
 have snatch'd his wand,  
 And bound him fast; without his  
 rod revers'd,  
 And backward mutters of dis-  
 severing power,*

*We cannot free the Lady, &c.]*  
 They are directed before to seize  
 Comus's wand, v. 653. And this  
 was from the Faerie Qu. where  
 Sir Guyon breaks the charming  
 staffe of Pleasure's porter, as he  
 likewise overthrows his bowl, ii.  
 xii. 49. But from what particular  
 process of dischantment, an-  
 cient or modern, did Milton take  
 the notion of reversing Comus's  
 wand or rod? It was from a pas-  
 sage of Ovid, the great ritualist  
 of classical sorcery, before cited,

And bound him fast ; without his rod revers'd,  
 And backward mutters of dissevering power,  
 We cannot free the Lady that sits here  
 In stony fetters fix'd, and motionless :  
 Yet stay, be not disturb'd ; now I bethink me, 820  
 Some other means I have which may be us'd,

where the companions of Ulysses are restored to their human shapes. *Metam.* xiv. 300.

*Percutimurque caput conversæ ver-  
 bere virgæ,  
 Verbaque dicuntur dictis contraria  
 verbis.*

This Sandys translates, " Her  
 " wand *revers't*, &c." *Transl.* p.  
 462. edit. 1632. And in his very  
 learned Notes he says, " As  
 " Circe's rod, waved over their  
 " heads from the right side to the  
 " left, presents those false and  
 " sinister persuasions to pleasure,  
 " which so much deforms them :  
 " so the *reversion* thereof, by dis-  
 " cipline and a view of their  
 " owne deformitie, restores them  
 " to their former beauties," p.  
 481. By *backward mutters*, the  
 " *verba dictis contraria verbis*,"  
 we are to understand, that the  
 charming words, or verses, at  
 first used, were to be all repeated  
*backwards*, to destroy what had  
 been done.

The most striking representa-  
 tion of the reversal of a charm  
 that I remember, and Milton  
 might here have partly had it in  
 his eye, is in Spenser's descrip-  
 tion of the deliverance of Amoret,  
 by Britomart, from the enchant-  
 ment of Busyrane, *Faery Q.* iii.  
 xii. 36.

And rising up, gan streight to over-  
 look

Those cursed leaves, his charmes  
 back to reverse ; &c.

The circumstance in the text, of  
 the Brothers forgetting to seize  
 and reverse the magician's rod,  
 while by contrast it heightens  
 the superior intelligence of the  
 attendant Spirit, affords the op-  
 portunity of introducing the fic-  
 tion of raising Sabrina ; which,  
 exclusive of its poetical orna-  
 ments, is recommended by a lo-  
 cal propriety, and was peculiarly  
 interesting to the audience, as  
 the Severn is the famous river of  
 the neighbourhood. *T. Warton.*

816. — *without his rod re-  
 vers'd,*] It was at first

— *without his art revers'd.*

818. — *the Lady that sits  
 here*] In the Manuscript it was  
 at first *that remains*, and is *that  
 here sits*.

821. *Some other means I have  
 which &c.*] He had written at  
 first *There is another way that &c.*

821. Doctor Johnson repro-  
 bates this *long narration*, as he  
 styles it, about Sabrina ; which,  
 he says, " is of no use because it  
 " is *false*, and therefore un-  
 " suitable to a good being." By  
 the poetical reader, this fiction is  
 considered as true. In common  
 sense, the relator is not true ;  
 and why may not an imaginary  
 being, even of a good character,  
 deliver an imaginary tale ? In  
 poetry false narrations are often  
 more useful than true. Some-  
 thing, and something preter-

Which once of Melibæus old I learnt,  
The soothest shepherd that e'er pip'd on plains.

There is a gentle nymph not far from hence,  
That with moist curb sways the smooth Severn stream,  
Sabrina is her name, a virgin pure ;

natural, and consequently false, but therefore more poetical, was necessary for the present distress.  
*T. Warton.*

823. *The soothest*] The truest, faithfulest. *Sooth* is truth. *In sooth* is indeed. *Soothsayer* one that foretells the truth, divinus, veridicus. And therefore what this *soothest* shepherd teaches may be depended upon.

823. Spenser thus characterizes Amyntas in Colin Clout's come home again.

He, whilst he lived, was the noblest swaine,

That ever piped on an oaten quill.

*Bowle.*

826. *Sabrina is her name, a virgin pure ;*] In the Manuscript it was at first *a virgin goddess*, then *a virgin chaste*, and at last *a virgin pure*. Loctrine, king of the Britons, married Guendolen the daughter of Corineus, Duke of Cornwall: but in secret, for fear of Corineus, he loved Estrildis, a fair captive whom he had taken in a battle with Humber king of the Huns, and had by her a daughter equally fair, whose name was Sabra. But when once his fear was off by the death of Corineus, not content with secret enjoyment, divorcing Guendolen, he makes Estrildis now his queen. Guendolen all in rage departs into Cornwall—and gathering an army of her father's friends and subjects, gives battle to her husband by

the river Sture; wherein Loctrine shot with an arrow ends his life. But not so ends the fury of Guendolen, for Estrildis and her daughter Sabra she throws into a river; and to leave a monument of revenge, proclaims that the stream be thenceforth called after the damsel's name, which by length of time is changed now to *Sabrina* or *Severn*. This is the account given by Milton himself in the first book of his *History of England*: but here he takes a liberty very allowable to poets, (as Mr. Thyer expresses it,) and varies the original story of this event, in order to heighten the character of *Sabrina*, whom he is about to introduce as the patroness and protector of chastity. See Spenser's account of the same event, in the *Faery Queen*, b. ii. cant. 10. st. 17, 18, 19.

But the sad virgin innocent of all,  
Adown the rolling river she did pour,  
Which of her name now Severn men  
do call:

Such was the end that to disloyal love  
did fall.

826. *Sabrina's* fabulous history may be seen in the *Mirroure of Magistrates* under the legend of the *Lady Sabine*, in the sixth Song of Drayton's *Polyolbion*, the tenth canto and second book of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, the third book of *Albion's England*, the first book of our author's *History of England*, in *Hardyng's Chronicle*, and in an old

Whilome she was the daughter of Locrine,  
 That had the sceptre from his father Brute.  
 She guiltless damsel flying the mad pursuit  
 Of her enraged stepdame Guendolen, 830  
 Commended her fair innocence to the flood,  
 That stay'd her flight with his cross-flowing course.  
 The water nymphs that in the bottom play'd,  
 Held up their pearly wrists and took her in,

English Ballad on the subject.  
 See note on Epitaph. Dam. v. 176.

The part of the fable of *Comus*, which may be called the *Disenchantment*, is evidently founded on Fletcher's Faithful Shepherdess. The moral of both dramas is the triumph of chastity. This in both is finally brought about by the same sort of machinery. Sabrina, a virgin and a king's daughter, was converted into a river-nymph, that her honour might be preserved inviolate. Still she preserves her maiden-gentleness; and every evening visits the cattle among her twilight meadows, to heal the mischiefs inflicted by elfish magic. For this she was praised by the shepherds.

—She can unlock

The clasp charm, and thaw the numbing spell,

If she be right Invok'd in warbled song.

She protects virgins in distress. She is now solemnly called, to deliver a virgin imprisoned in the spell of a detestable sorcerer. She rises at the invocation, and leaving her car on an osiered rushy bank, hastens to help in-maided chastity. She sprinkles on the breast of the captive maid, precious drops selected from her pure fountain. She touches thrice

the tip of the lady's finger and thrice her ruby lip, with chaste palms moist and cold; as also the envenomed chair, smeared with tenacious gums. The charm is dissolved: and the nymph departs to the bower of Amphitrite. But I am anticipating, by a general exhibition, such particular passages of Fletcher's play as will hereafter be cited in their proper places; and which, like others already cited, will appear to have been enriched by our author with a variety of new allusions, original fictions, and the beauties of unborrowed poetry. *T. Warton.*

829. *She guiltless damsel*] We prefer the reading of the Manuscript and the editions of 1637 and 1645: that of 1673 has *The guiltless damsel &c.* which is followed by some others.

831. —*to the flood,*] So he wrote at first, and then *to the stream*, and then *to the flood* again; and rightly, as *stream* is the last word of a verse a little before and a little after.

834. *Held up their pearly wrists &c.*] In the Manuscript these verses were thus at first,

Held up their white wrists to receive  
 her in,  
 And bore her straight to aged Nereus'  
 hall.

Bearing her strait to aged Nereus' hall, 835  
 Who piteous of her woes, rear'd her lank head,  
 And gave her to his daughters to imbathe  
 In nectar'd lavers strow'd with asphodil,  
 And through the porch and inlet of each sense  
 Dropt in ambrosial oils till she reviv'd, 840  
 And underwent a quick immortal change,  
 Made Goddess of the river ; still she retains  
 Her maiden gentleness, and oft at eve  
 Visits the herds along the twilight meadows,

834. Drayton gives the Severn pearls. He says of Sabrina, Polyolb. s. v. vol. ii. p. 752.

—Where she meant to go  
 The path was strow'd with pearl.

He speaks also of "The pearly  
 "Conway's head," a neighbouring river. Ibid. s. ix. vol. iii. p. 827. And of the "precious orient pearl that breedeth in her  
 "sand." Ibid. s. x. vol. iii. p. 842. We shall see, that Milton afterwards gives gems to the Severn of a far brighter hue. *T. Warton.*

836. —*piteous of her woes.*] Under the same form, "Retch-  
 "lesse of their wrongs," that is, *unpiteous*, as in Drayton, Polyolb. s. vii. See *supr.* at v. 404. *T. Warton.*

837. *And gave her to his daughters to imbathe*

*In nectar'd lavers]*

This at least reminds us of Alcæus's epigram or epitaph on Homer, who died in the island of Io. The Nereids of the circumambient sea bathed his dead body with nectar. Antholog. lib. iii. p. 386. edit. Brod. Francof. 1600. fol.

ΝΕΚΤΑΡΙ ὃ ἠνέλατο Νηρηίδες ἰχθυόσαντο,  
 Καὶ πικρὸν Ἀντιφῶ θάλασσαν ὕπερ σπύλαδι.

The process which follows, of dropping ambrosial oils "into  
 "the porch and inlet of each  
 "sense" of the drowned Sabrina, is originally from Homer, where Venus anoints the dead body of Patroclus with rosy ambrosial oil. Il. b. xxiii. 186.

—Ῥόδοντι δὲ χροὺ ἑλαιοῖς  
 Ἀμβροσίῳ.

See also Bion's Hyacinth. "Κερὶ  
 "δ' ἀμβροσίῃ καὶ νικταρί, &c." Idyll. ix. 3.

The word *imbathe* occurs in our author's Reformation, "Me-  
 "thinks a sovereign and reviv-  
 "ing joy must needs rush into  
 "the bosom of him that reads  
 "or hears ; and the sweet odour  
 "of the returning Gospel im-  
 "bathe his soul with the fra-  
 "grance of heaven." Prose-  
 works, vol. i. 2. What was en-  
 thusiasm in most of the puritan-  
 ical writers, was poetry in Milton. *T. Warton.*

839. *And through the porch and inlet of each sense]* The same metaphor in Shakespeare, Hamlet, act i. sc. 8.

And in the porches of mine ears did pour &c.

844. *Visits the herds along the twilight meadows,*



Helping all urchin blasts, and ill-luck signs 548  
 That the shrewd meddling elf delights to make,  
 Which she with precious vial'd liquors heals.  
 For which the shepherds at their festivals  
 Carol her goodness loud in rustic lays,  
 And throw sweet garland wreaths into her stream 850  
 Of pancies, pinks, and gaudy daffodils.

*Helping all urchin blasts, and  
 ill-luck signs*

*That the shrewd meddling elf  
 delights to make,]*

The virgin shepherdess Clorin,  
 in Fletcher's pastoral play so frequently quoted, possesses the skill of Sabrina, act i. s. 1. p. 104.

Of all green wounds I knowe the remedies

In men or cattle; be they stung with snakes,

Or charm'd with powerful words of wicked art:

Or be they lovesick, &c.——

These can I cure, such secret virtue lies

In herbs applied by a virgin's hand.

*T. Warton.*

845. *Helping all urchin blasts,]*

The urchin, or hedge-hog, from its solitariness, the ugliness of its appearance, and from a popular opinion that it sucked or poisoned the udders of cows, was adopted into the demonologic system: and its shape was sometimes supposed to be assumed by mischievous elves. See the *Tempest*, act i. s. 2. act ii. s. 3. *Macbeth*, act iv. s. 1. And *Titus Andronicus*, at least corrected by Shakespeare, act ii. s. 2. There was a sort of subordinate or pastoral system of magic to which the urchin pro-

perly belonged. *T. Warton.*

846. *That the shrewd meddling elf &c.]* That is Puck or Robin Goodfellow, whose character and qualifications are described in Shakespeare's *Mids. N. Dream*, act ii. *Delights to make*, at first he had written *to leave*; and in the Manuscript is the following verse,

*And often takes our cattle with strange  
 pinches,*

*Which she with precious &c.*

846. Shakespeare mentions a spirit, who "mildews the white wheat, and hurts the poor creature of the earth." *K. Lear*, act i. s. 4. And he calls Robin Goodfellow "a shrewd and knavish sprite." *Mids. N. Dream*, act ii. s. 1. *T. Warton.*

849. —*in rustic lays,]* Rightly altered from *lively* or *lovely lays*.

850. *And throw sweet garland wreaths into her stream.]* See *B. and Fletcher's False One*, act iii. s. 3.

*With incense let us bless the brim,  
 And as the wanton fishes swim,  
 Let us gams and garlands sing, &c.*

*T. Warton.*

851. *Of pancies, pinks, and gaudy daffodils.]* This line was at first,

*Of pancies, and of bonny daffodils.*

And, as the old swain said, she can unlock  
 The clasping charm, and thaw the numbing spell,  
 If she be right invok'd in warbled song,  
 For maidenhood she loves, and will be swift 855  
 To aid a virgin, such as was herself,  
 In hard-besetting need ; this will I try,  
 And add the pow'r of some adjuring verse.

## SONG.

SABRINA fair,  
 Listen where thou art sitting 860  
 Under the glassy, cool, translucent wave,  
 In twisted braids of lilies knitting  
 The loose train of thy amber-dropping hair ;

853. *The clasping charm, &c.*] At first the verse was thus,

*Each clasping charm, and secret hold-  
 ing spell.*

856. *To aid a virgin, such as was herself,*] Alluding perhaps to the Danaid's invocation of Pallas, wherein they use the same argument, ver. 155.

*Ἀλκυονας Ἀλκυονας*  
*'Fœvus γυναικῶν.*

i. e. *virgo virginem liberet.* Vid. scholia in locum. *Thyer.*

857. *In hard-besetting need ;*] It was at first, *In honour'd virtue's cause ;* and this was altered in the Manuscript to *In hard distressed need.*

861. *Under the glassy, cool, translucent wave.*] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, a. iv. s. 1.

There is a willow grows askant the  
 brook

That shews his hoar leaves in the  
 glassy stream.

*T. Warton.*

861. *Translucent*, which I always thought to be first used by Milton, occurs in Brathwayte's *Love's Labyrinth*, Lond. 1615. 12mo. p. 29. Of the sun, "heaven's translucent eie." Pope perhaps had it from Milton, on his grotto.

Thou who shalt stop where Thames  
*translucent wave.*

*T. Warton.*

862. *In twisted braids of lilies knitting*

*The loose train of thy amber-dropping hair.*]

We are to understand water-lilies, with which Drayton often braids the tresses of his water-nymphs, in the *Polyolbion*. See Note on *Arcades*, v. 97. *T. Warton.*

863. *The loose train of thy amber-dropping hair.*] We have "an amber cloud," above v. 333. And in *L'Allegro*, "the sun is robed in flames and amber

Listen for dear honour's sake,  
Goddess of the silver lake,  
Listen and save.

865

Listen and appear to us  
In name of great Oceanus,

"light." v. 61. But liquid amber is a yellow pellucid gum. Sabrina's hair *drops amber*, because in the poet's idea, her stream was supposed to be transparent. As in Par. Lost, b. iii. 358.

And where the river of bliss through  
midst of heaven  
Rolls o'er Elysian fountains her *amber*  
stream.

And when Choaspes has an  
"amber stream." Par. Reg. b. iii. 288. But Choaspes was called the *golden water*. Amber, when applied to water, means a luminous clearness: when to hair, a bright yellow. Amber locks are given to the sun in Sylvester's Du Bartas more than once. And to Sabrina's daughters by Withers, Epithal. edit. 1622. See Note on Par. Reg. ii. 344. iii. 288. And Sams. Agon. v. 720. T. Warton.

865. —*silver lake*,] Par. Lost, vii. 437. Of the birds.

Others on *silver lakes*, and rivers, &c.  
T. Warton.

867. *Listen and appear to us* &c.] Before these verses there is wrote in the Manuscript, *to be said*. The attendant Spirit first invoked Sabrina in *warbled song*; and now he adds the *power of some adjuring verse*, both which he said he would try: and in the reading of this adjuration by the sea-deities it will be curious to observe how the poet has

distinguished them by the epithets and attributes which are peculiarly assigned to each of them in the best classic authors. *Great Oceanus*, so in Hesiod Theog. 21. Ωκεανὸς τε μέγας. *Nep-tune* and his *mace* or trident are very well known, and *th' earth-shaking* is the translation of that common Greek epithet σεισχυόν, or σεισγυγίος. *Tethys*, the wife of Oceanus, and mother of the Gods, may well be supposed to have a *grave majestic pace*;

Ωκεανὸς τε δῖος γυνεὶ, καὶ μετὰ  
Τηθύ. Hom. Iliad. xiv. 201.

and Hesiod calls her *the venerable Tethys*, σεβητὴ Τηθύς. Theog. 368. By *hoary Nereus' wrinkled look*, and he had called him before ver. 835. *aged Nereus*; and so he is called in all the poets, as in Virgil, Georg. iv. 392. *Gravæxus Nereus*. Hesiod assigns the reason, Theog. 233.

Νηρεὺς δ' ἀφειδία καὶ ἀλφειὰ γυναικὶ  
Πόντος.

Πρεβύτατος παίδων' αὐτὰρ καλίστης  
γυνεὺς,

Οἶνικα γρημώτης τε καὶ πόντος, τοὺς  
ἐμμετρίως

ἀφένται, ἀλλὰ δαίμων καὶ ποταμὸς  
αἶψα.

He may be called *hoary* too on another account; for as Servius remarks on Virgil, Georg. iv. 403. Fere omnes Dii marini senes sunt, albet enim eorum capita spumis aquarum. And the *Carpathian wizard's hook*, Proteus who lived a cave at Carpathus,

By th' earth-shaking Neptune's mace,  
And Tethys' grave majestic pace,

870

an island in the Mediterranean over-against Egypt, and was a wizard or prophet, and was Neptune's shepherd, and as such bore a *hook*. Virgil, Georg. iv. 387.

Est in Carpathio Neptuni gurgite  
vates,  
Cæruleus Proteus,—  
—novit namque omnia vates,  
Quæ sint, quæ fuerint, quæ mox  
ventura trahantur.  
Quippe ita Neptuno visum est: im-  
mania cujus  
Armenta, et turpes pascit sub gurgite  
phocas.

By scaly Triton's winding shell,  
he was Neptune's trumpeter, and  
was scaly, as all these sorts of  
creatures are, *squamis modo his-  
pido corpore, etiam qua humanam  
effigiem habent*, as Pliny says,  
lib. ix. sect. 4. and his winding  
shell is thus described by Ovid,  
Met. i. 333.

Cæruleum Tritona vocat, conchæque  
sonaci  
Inspirare jubet—  
—cava buccina sumitur illi  
Tortilis, in latum quæ turbine crescit  
ab imo.

And old soothsaying Glaucus' spell,  
he was an excellent fisher or  
diver, and so was feigned to be  
a sea-god: and Aristotle writes,  
that in Delos he prophesied to  
the Gods, *Ἀριστοτελὶς δ' ἐν τῇ Δελῶνι  
πελιτῷ, ὃν Δελφὶ κατενεσθαι μετὰ  
τῶν Νηρηίδων τοῖς θεοῖς μαντισσέαι*:  
and Nicander says, that Apollo  
himself learned the art of pre-  
diction from Glaucus, *Νικάνδρος ἐν  
πρῶτῃ Λιτωλικῶν τῇ μαντικῇ Θησὶν  
Ἀπολλῶνι ὑπὸ Γλαυκοῦ διδάσκειν*,  
as they are cited by Athenæus,  
lib. vii. cap. 12. And Euripides  
calls him the seamen's prophet

and interpreter of Nereus, Ores-  
tes, ver. 363.

Ὁ μαντικῶν μαντις ἔκρυπτο μὲν  
Νηρῶν προφῆτης Γλαυκός, ἀφ' οὗτος θεός.

And Apollonius Rhodius gives  
him the same appellation, Argo-  
naut. i. 1310.

Τοῦτο δὲ Γλαυκὸς βενχέας ἄλλος ἐξέφασθη,  
Νηρῶν θυμὸν πολυφρονέων ὑποφῆτης.

By *Leucothea's* lovely hands, and  
her son &c. Ino, flying from the  
rage of her husband Athamas,  
who was furiously mad, threw  
herself from the top of a rock  
into the sea, with her son Meli-  
certa in her arms; but Neptune  
at the intercession of Venus  
changed them into sea-deities,  
and gave them new names, *Leu-  
cothea* to her, and to him *Palæ-  
mon*. Ovid, Met. iv. 538. She  
being *Leucothea* or the *white  
Goddess* may well be supposed  
to have *lovely hands*, which I  
presume the poet mentioned in  
opposition to *Thetis' feet* after-  
wards: and her son *rules the  
strands*, having the command of  
the ports, and therefore being  
called in Latin *Portumnus*, as  
the mother was *Matuta*, the  
Goddess of the early morning.  
Ovid, Fast. vi. 545.

Leucotheæ Graiis, Matuta vocabere  
nostris, &c.

By *Thetis' tinsel slipper'd feet*,  
this the poet meant as a para-  
phrase of the word *περγασπέλα*  
or *silver-footed*, the epithet by  
which she is usually distinguished  
in Homer: and the *Sirens* are  
introduced here, as being sea-  
nymphs, and singing upon the  
coast. *Parthenope* and *Ligea* were  
two of the Sirens; and for this

By hoary Nereus' wrinkled look,  
And the Carpathian wizard's hook,  
By scaly Triton's winding shell,  
And old soothsaying Glaucus' spell,  
By Leucothea's lovely hands,  
And her son that rules the strands,  
By Thetis' tinsel-slipper'd feet,  
And the songs of Sirens sweet,  
By dead Parthenope's dear tomb,  
And fair Ligea's golden comb,

875

880

reason, I suppose the four verses relating to them are scratched in the Manuscript. *Parthenope's* tomb was at Naples, which was therefore called *Parthenope*; *Parthenope à tumulo Sirenis appellata*. Plin. lib. iii. sect. 9. Silius Ital. xii. 33.

Sirenum dedit una suum et memorabile nomen

Parthenope muris Acheloias, æquore cuius

Regnare diu cantus—

*Ligea* was another of the Sirens, and is also the name of a sea-nymph mentioned by Virgil, Georg. iv. 336. and the poet draws her in the attitude, in which mermaids are usually represented. Ovid of Salmacis, Met. iv. 310.

Sed modo fonte suo formosos perluit artus;

Sæpe Cithorisco deducit pectine crines;  
Et quid se deceat, spectatas consultit undas.

868. *In name of great Oceanus.*] So Drayton, Polyolb. s. xvii. "The court of great *Oceanus*." Again, *ibid.* s. ii. "The arms of 'old *Oceanus*.' And in other places. And in one of Jonson's *Queenes Masques*, 1616. p. 895.

Payre Niger, sonne to great *Oceanus*.

T. Warton.

877. *By Thetis' tinsel slipper'd feet.*] W. Browne has "*silver-footed Thetis*," Brit. Past. b. ii. p. 35. Perhaps for the first time in English poetry. *Silver-buskin'd Nymphs* are in *Arcades*, v. 33. T. Warton.

878. *And the songs of Syrens sweet.*] Sandys says, that the fabulous melody of the Syrens has a topographical allusion. "For Archippus tells of a certain bay, contracted within winding streights and broken cliffs, which by the singing of the windes and beating of the billowes, report a delightful harmony, alluring those who sail by to approach: when forthwith, throwne against the rocks by the waves, and swallowed in violent eddies, &c." Sandys's Ovid's Metam. b. v. p. 197. edit. 1637. Spenser has exactly described the seat and allegory of the Sirens in the same manner. F. Q. ii. xii. 30.

And now they nigh approached to the sted

Whereas those mermayds dwelt: It was a still

And calmy Bay, on th' one side sheltered, &c.

880. *And fair Ligea's golden*

Wherewith she sits on diamond rocks,  
 Sleeking her soft alluring locks,  
 By all the nymphs that nightly dance  
 Upon thy streams with wily glance,  
 Rise, rise, and heave thy rosy head  
 From thy coral-paven bed,  
 And bridle in thy headlong wave,  
 Till thou our summons answer'd have.

885

Listen and save.

Sabrina rises, attended by water-nymphs, and sings.

By the rushy-fringed bank,  
 Where grows the willow and the osier dank,

890

comb, &c.] One of the employments of the Nymph Salmacis in Ovid is to comb her hair. But that fiction is here heightened with the brilliancy of romance. Ligea's comb is of gold, and she sits on diamond rocks. These were new allurements for the unwary. G. Fletcher has "maine rocks of diamound." Christ's Victorie, p. i. st. 61. edit. 1610. See Note on El. iii. 49. Ligea is celebrated for her singing in Polyolb. s. xx. vol. iii. 1048.

Then Ligea which maintains the  
 birds harmonious layes,  
 Which sing on river banks amongst  
 the slender sprays.

T. Warton.

886. *From thy coral-paven bed.*] Drayton of Sabrina's robe, Polyolb. s. v. vol. iii. p. 153.

Whose skirts were to the knees with  
 coral fring'd below.

And we have pearl-paved in Drayton, *ibid.* s. xxx. "This clear pearl-paved Irt." Again, "Where every pearl-paved ford."

Mus. Elya. Nymph. Shakespeare has simply "paved fountain." Mids. N. Dr. a. ii. s. 2. In Marlowe, quoted in England's Parnassus, 1600. p. 480. "pebble-paved channell." T. Warton.

889. *Listen and save.*] The repetition of the prayer, ver. 866. and 889. in the invocation of Sabrina is similar to that of Æschylus's Chorus in the invocation of Darius's shade. Persæ, ver. 666. and 674.

*Sacris wat'is amant Angl'as, &c.*

Thyer.

Thus Amarillis, in the Faithful Shepherdess, invokes the priest of Pan to protect her from the Sullen Shepherd, a. v. s. i. p. 184.

Hear me, and save from endless infamy

My yet unblasted flower, virginity:  
 By all the garlands that have crown'd  
 that head,

By thy chaste officer, &c.

T. Warton.

890. *By the rushy-fringed bank.*] See Par. Lost, iv. 262. "The

My sliding chariot stays,  
Thick set with agate, and the azure sheen  
Of turkis blue, and emerald green,  
That in the channel strays;

895

"fringed bank with myrtle  
"crowned." So Browne, Brit.  
Past. b. ii. s. v. p. 124.

To tread the *fring'd* banks of an  
amorous flood.

And Drayton, Polyolb. s. ii. vol.  
ii. p. 685.

Upon whose moisted skirts with sea-  
weed *fring'd* about.

And Carew, Milton's contempo-  
rary, Poems, p. 149. edit. 1651.

With various trees wa *fringe* the  
rivers brinkes.

I would read *rush-yfringed*. In  
Fletcher, we have "*rushy banke*,"  
ubi sup. p. 121. T. Warton.

890. *By the rushy-fringed bank,  
Where grows the willow and  
the osier dank, &c.]*

This is somewhat in imitation of  
the River-God in the Faithful  
Shepherdess, act 3.

I am this fountain's God; below  
My waters to a river grow,  
And 'twixt two banks with osiers set,  
That only prosper in the wet,  
Through the meadows do they glide,  
Wheeling still on every side,  
Sometimes winding round about,  
To find the even'st channel out, &c.

892. *My sliding chariot stays;  
Thick, set with agate, and the  
azure sheen,  
Of turkis blue, and emerald  
green,  
That in the channel strays.]*

Milton perhaps more immediately  
borrowed the idea of giving Sa-  
brina a rich chariot, from Dray-  
ton's Polyolbion, so often quoted:  
and more especially as he dis-  
covers other references to Dray-

ton's Sabrina. And the celebrity  
of Drayton's poem at that time  
better authorized such a fiction.  
Polyolb. s. v. vol. ii. p. 752.

Now Sabine, as a queen miraculously  
*fair*,

Is absolutely plac'd in her imperial  
chair

Of crystal richly wrought, that glo-  
riously did shine, &c.

Then comes a wasteful luxuriance  
of fancy. It is embossed with  
the figures of all the Nymphs  
that had been wooed by Nep-  
tune, all his numerous progeny,  
all the nations over which he had  
ruled, and the forms of all the  
fish in the ocean. Milton is  
more temperate. But he rather  
unsuitably supposes all the gems,  
with which he decorates her car,  
to be found in the bottom of her  
stream.

As in Milton, Sabrina is raised  
to perform an office of solemnity,  
so in Drayton she appears in a  
sort of judicial capacity, to de-  
cide some of the claims and  
privileges of the river Lundy,  
which she does in a long and  
learned speech. See also s. viii.  
vol. iii. p. 795. Where again  
she turns pedant, and gives a  
laboured history of the ancient  
British kings. In Milton, she  
rises, "attended by water-  
"nymphs," and in Drayton her  
car is surrounded by a group of  
the deities of her neighbouring  
rivers. T. Warton.

895. *That in the channel strays;]*  
In the Manuscript it was at first,

*That my rich wheels inlays.*

Whilst from off the waters fleet  
 Thus I set my printless feet  
 O'er the cowslips velvet head,  
 That bends not as I tread;  
 Gentle Swain, at thy request  
 I am here.

900

## SPIRIT.

Goddess dear,  
 We implore thy pow'rful hand  
 To undo the charmed band  
 Of true virgin here distrest,  
 Through the force, and through the wile  
 Of unblest inchanter vile.

905

## SABRINA.

Shepherd, 'tis my office best  
 To help insnared chastity:  
 Brightest Lady, look on me;  
 Thus I sprinkle on thy breast  
 Drops that from my fountain pure  
 I have kept of precious cure,

910

896. *Whilst from off the waters  
 fleet*

*Thus I set my printless feet.]*

So Prospero to his elves, but in  
 a style of much higher and  
 wilder fiction. Temp. a. v. s. 1.

And ye that on the sands with *print-  
 less foot*

Do chase the ebbing Neptune, and do

fly him

When he comes back.

T. Warton.

898. *O'er the cowslip's velvet  
 head,]* See England's Helicon,  
 ed. 1614. By W. H.

—Where she doth walke,  
 Scarse she doth the primrose head  
 Depresse, or tender stalke  
 Of blew-veind violetta,  
 Whereon her foot she sets.

T. Warton.

910. *Brightest Lady,]* It was  
 at first *Virtuous Lady*.

913. *I have kept of precious  
 cure,]* If the reading be right,  
 the meaning must be, some drops  
 of a very healing power. But I  
 think it would do good to the  
 verse, as well as the language,  
 to throw out the c and read *ure*,  
 i. e. *use*. The word is found in



Thrice upon thy finger's tip,  
 Thrice upon thy rubied lip;  
 Next this marble venom'd seat,  
 Smear'd with gums of glutinous heat,  
 I touch with chaste palms moist and cold:  
 Now the spell hath lost his hold;

915

Chaucer, Spenser, and many others. *Calton*.

*Ure*, it must be owned, was not uncommon. But the rhymes of many couplets in the Faithful Shepherdess, relating to the same business, shew that *cure* was Milton's word. See s. ult. p. 191. And again, p. 187, 178, 177, 152.

These drops are sprinkled thrice. So Michael purging Adam's eye, *Par. Lost*, b. xi. 416.

And from the well of life three drops instill'd.

All this ceremony, if we look higher, is from the ancient practice of lustration by drops of water. *Virg. Æn. vi. 230*. "He thrice moistened his companions with pure water,"

*Spargens rose levī.*

And *Ovid, Metam. iv. 479*.

*Roratis lustravit aquis Thaumantias Iris.*

The water of the river *Choaspes* was highly esteemed for lustration. See Note on *Par. Reg. iii. 288*. *T. Warton*.

914. *Thrice upon thy finger's tip, &c.*] Compare *Shakespeare, Mid. N. Dr. a. ii. s. 6*.

—Upon thine eyes I throw

All the power this charm doth owe,  
 &c.

But *Milton*, in most of the circumstances of dissolving this charm, is apparently to be traced in the Faithful Shepherdess. See

a. i. s. i. p. 155. and p. 109. a. iii. s. i. p. 150, 151. a. iv. s. i. p. 161. where *Clorin* the shepherdess heals the wounded shepherd *Alexis*.

Hold him gently, till I fling  
 Water of a virtuous spring  
 On his temples: turn him twice, &c.  
*T. Warton.*

918. *I touch with chaste palms moist and cold:*

*Now the spell hath lost his hold.]*  
 So the virgin *Clorin* appears with *Alexis* reviving, a. v. s. i. p. 177, 178.

Now your thoughts are almost pure,  
 And your wound begins to cure.—  
 With spotless hand, on spotless breast,  
 I put these herbs, to give thee rest.

I must add the disappearance of the river god, a. iii. s. i. p. 155.

Fairest virgin, now adieu!  
 I must make my waters fly,  
 Lest they leave their channels dry;  
 And beasts that come unto the spring  
 Miss their morning's watering;  
 Which I would not: for of late  
 All the neighbour people sate  
 On my banks, and from the fold  
 Two white lambs of three weeks old  
 Offered to my deity:  
 For which this year they shall be free  
 From raging floods, that as they pass  
 Leave their gravel in the grass:  
 Nor shall their meads be overdown  
 When their grass is newly mown.

Here the river god resembles *Sabrina* in that part of her character, which consists in protecting the cattle and pastures. And for these services she is also

And I must haste ere morning hour  
To wait in Amphitrite's bow'r.

920

Sabrina descends, and the Lady rises out of her seat.

## SPIRIT.

Virgin, daughter of Locrine  
Sprung of old Anchises' line,  
May thy brimmed waves for this  
Their full tribute never miss  
From a thousand petty rills,  
That tumble down the snowy hills;

925

thanked by the shepherds, v. 844.  
supr. *T. Warton*.

921. *To wait in Amphitrite's bow'r.*] Drayton's Sabrina is arrayed in

—A watchet weed, with many a curious wave,  
Which as a princely gift great Amphitrite gave.

Poylb. s. v. vol. ii. p. 752. And we have "*Amphitrite's bower*," ibid. s. xxviii. vol. iii. p. 1193. See also Spenser of Cymoent, F. Q. iii. iv. 43.

Deepe in the bottom of the sea her *bower*.

Again, iii. viii. 37. Of Proteus.

His *bower* is in the bottom of the maine.

*T. Warton*.

921. *To wait in Amphitrite's bow'r.*] He had written at first,

To wait on Amphitrite in her bow'r.

923. *Sprung of old Anchises' line.*] For Locrine was the son of Brutus, who was the son of Silvius, he of Ascanius, and Ascanius of Æneas, a Trojan prince, son of Anchises. See Milton's History of England, book i.

924. *May thy brimmed waves &c.*] I should rather think brined, i. e. made salt by the mixture of sea-water. *Brimmed* may indeed signify waves that rise to the *brim* or margin of the shore: but it is a strange word. *Warburton*.

Dr. Warburton had not remarked the frequent and familiar use of *brim* for *bank* in our old poets. See above at v. 119. And "*brimming stream*" ascertains the old reading. P. L. iv. 336. *T. Warton*.

At first he had written *crystal*, but altered it, that word occurring again within a few verses.

927. *That tumble down the snowy hills:*] It was at first,

That tumble down from snowy hills.

927. The poet adverts to the known natural properties of the river. The torrents from the Welch mountains sometimes raise the Severn on a sudden to a prodigious height. But at the same time they *fill her molten crystal with mud*. Her stream, of itself clear, is then discoloured and muddy. Here is an echo to a

# POEMS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. 121

Summer drouth, or singed air  
 Never scorch thy tresses fair,  
 Nor wet October's torrent flood 930  
 Thy molten crystal fill with mud;  
 May thy billows roll ashore  
 The beryl, and the golden ore;  
 May thy lofty head be crown'd  
 With many a tow'r and terrace round, 935  
 And here and there thy banks upon  
 With groves of myrrh, and cinnamon.

couplet in Jonson's Mask at Highgate, 1604.

Of sweete and severall sliding rills,  
 That streame from tops of those lesse hills.

T. Warton.

928. —or singed air  
 Never scorch thy tresses fair,]  
 Sure we should read

—or scorching air  
 Never singe thy tresses fair.

Warburton.

932. *May thy billows roll ashore  
 The beryl, and the golden ore.*  
 This is reasonable as a wish. But surely jewels were out of place here, on the supposition that they were the natural productions of Sabrina's stream. So of the groves of myrrh and cinnamon upon her banks. A wish more conformable to the real state of things would have been more pleasing, as less unnatural. But we must not too severely try poetry by truth and reality. See above at v. 834, 891. T. Warton.

934. *May thy lofty head be crown'd  
 With many a tow'r and terrace round.*

So of the imperial palace of Rome, P. R. iv. 54.

—Conspicuous far  
*Turrets and terraces.*

Milton was impressed with this idea from his vicinity to Windsor castle. T. Warton.

936. *And here and there thy banks upon &c.*] We are all of us apt to grow fond of the authors, whom we particularly study; and therefore Mr. Seward generally prefers (for beauty and delicacy though not for pomp and majesty) the passages in the Faithful Shepherdess which Milton has imitated to Milton's imitations of them: but here he himself is forced to allow, that this address to Sabrina is better than Amoret's to the God of the river upon a like occasion, and Fletcher has no other advantage but that of writing first, act iii.

For thy kindness to me shown,  
 Never from thy banks be blown  
 Any tree, with windy force,  
 Cross thy streams, to stop thy course;  
 May no beast that comes to drink,  
 With his horns cast down thy brink;  
 May none that for thy fish do look,  
 Cut thy banks to dam thy brook;  
 Barefoot may no neighbour wade  
 In thy cool streams wife nor maid,

Come, Lady, while Heav'n lends us grace,  
Let us fly this curst place,

When the spawn on stones do lie,  
To wash their hemp, and spoil the fry.

Mr. Seward farther remarks, that the construction of the two last of Milton's lines is a little difficult. To crown her head with towers is true imagery; but to crown her head upon her banks, will scarcely be allowed to be so. He would therefore put a colon instead of a comma at the last line but two, and then read

And here and there thy banks upon  
Be groves of myrrh, and cinnamon.

And after these verses is added in the Manuscript, *Song ends.*

936. Mr. Calton says the phrase is Greek, "may thy banks be crowned upon, &c." But if there is any difficulty in these lines, it would be removed by placing a comma after *there*, and another after *upon*. In prose upon thy banks would have followed the last line. *E.*

This votive address to Sabrina was suggested to our author by that of Amoret. But the form and subject, rather than the imagery, is copied. Milton is more sublime and learned, Fletcher more natural and easy.

I know not which poet wrote first: but in Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, certainly written not after 1613, and printed in 1616, I find a similar vow, b. i. s. i. p. 28. Milton has some circumstances which are in Browne and not in Fletcher.

—May first,

Quoth Marine, swaines give lambes  
to thee:

May all thy fould have seignorie  
Of all foulds else, and to thy fame  
Meete greater springes, yet keepe thy  
name.

May never evet, nor the tonde,  
Within thy bankes make their abode:  
Taking thy journey to the sea,  
Maist thou ne'er happen in thy way  
On nitre or on brimstone myne,  
To spoyle thy taste. This spring of  
thyne

Be ever fresh! Let no man dare  
To spoyle thy fish, make lock or ware;  
But on thy margent still let dwell  
Those flowers which have the sweet-  
est smell;

And let the dust upon thy strand  
Become like Tagus' golden sand.

From a close parallelism of thought and incident, it is clear that either Browne's pastoral imitates Fletcher's play, or the play the pastoral. Most of B. and Fletcher's plays appeared after 1616. But there is unluckily no date to the first edition of the *Faithful Shepherdess*. It is, however, mentioned in Davies's *Scourge of Folly*, 1611.

As Milton is supposed to have taken some hints in *Comus* from Peel's *Old Wives Tale*, I may perhaps lengthen this note, by producing a passage from that writer's play, entitled *The Love of King David and faire Bethsabe*, &c. edit. 1599. 4to.

May that sweet plaine that beares her  
pleasant weight

Be still enamel'd with discoloured  
flowers;

The precious fount beare sand of  
purest gold,

And for the peble, let the silver  
streames

That pierce earth's bowels to main-  
taine her force,

Play upon rubies, sapphires, chryso-  
lites;

The brims let be embrac'd with  
golden curles

Of moss.—

Let all the grasse that beautifies her  
bower

Lest the sorcerer us entice 940  
 With some other new device.  
 Not a waste, or needless sound,  
 Till we come to holier ground;  
 I shall be your faithful guide  
 Through this gloomy covert wide, 954  
 And not many furlongs thence  
 Is your Father's residence,  
 Where this night are met in state  
 Many a friend to gratulate  
 His wish'd presence, and beside 950  
 All the swains that near abide,  
 With jigs, and rural dance resort;  
 We shall catch them at their sport,  
 And our sudden coming there  
 Will double all their mirth and cheer; 955  
 Come let us haste, the stars grow high,  
 But night sits monarch yet in the mid sky.

The Scene changes, presenting Ludlow town and the President's castle; then come in country dancers, after them the attendant Spirit, with the two Brothers and the Lady.

Beare manna every morne instead of dew;

Or let the dew be sweeter far than that,

That hangs like chaines of pearle on Hermon's hill.

*T. Warton.*

948. *Where this night are met in state*] In the Manuscript it was at first,

Where this night are come in state.

951. *All the swains that near abide*] So we read in Milton's Manuscript, and this reading we prefer to that of all the editions,

All the swains that *there* abide.

956. *Come let us haste, &c.*] These two lines were thus at first in the Manuscript.

Come let us haste, the stars are high,  
But night reigns monarch yet in the mid sky.

And then *Ereunt*, and the following stage-direction, *The Scene changes, and then is presented Ludlow town and the President's castle; then enter country dances and such like gambols, &c. At those sports the Dæmon with the two Brothers and the Lady enter. The Dæmon sings.*

## SONG.

## SPIRIT.

Back, Shepherds, back, enough your play,  
Till next sun-shine holiday;  
Here be without duck or nod  
Other trippings to be trod  
Of lighter toes, and such court guise  
As Mercury did first devise

960

960. *Here be without duck or nod*] "Here are." By *duck* or *nod*, we are to understand the affectations of obeisance. So in K. Richard III. a. i. s. 3.

*Duck* with French *nods* and apish courtesy.

Again, in Lear, a. ii. s. 2.

Than twenty silly *ducking* observants,  
That stretch their duties nicely.

Compare Mids. N. Dr. a. iii. s. 1.

*Nod* to him, elves, and do him courtesies.

And Timon of Athens, "The  
"learned pate *ducks* to the golden  
"fool." a. iv. s. 3. It is the  
same word in Othello, a. ii. s. 1.

And let the labouring bark climb  
hills of seas  
Olympus high, and *duck* again as low  
As hell's from heaven.

T. Warton.

961. *Other trippings to be trod  
Of lighter toes, &c.*]

To *trip* on the toe in a dance,  
seems to have been technical.  
So in L'Allegro, v. 33.

Come and *trip* it as you go  
On the light fantastic toe.

Where see the Notes. Compare  
Jonson, Cynth. Rev. a. ii. s. 4.  
"Both the *swimme* and the *trip*  
"are mine: every body will  
"affirm it, that hath anie know-

"ledge in dancing." And Drayton, Polyolb. s. vi.

Those delicate dames so *trippingly*  
to tread.

In the Midsummer Night's  
Dream, Oberon orders his fairies  
to dance after his ditty *trippingly*,  
a. ii. s. 5. But to *trip* seems to  
have been the proper pace of a  
*fairy*. As above, v. 118.

*Trip* the pert faeries and the dapper  
elves.

And at a Vacation Exercise, v.  
62. The fairy-ladies,

Came *tripping* to the room where  
thou didst lie.

Hence "night-*tripping* fairy,"  
in First P. Henr. IV. a. i. s. 1.  
In Drayton's Mus. Elys. Nymph.  
viii.

The *tripping* fairy tricks shall play  
The evening of the wedding day.

And in many more instances.

*Trod* is also technical. As in  
Jonson's Sad Shepherd, a. i. s. 6.

—A swain who best could tread  
Our country dances.

T. Warton.

962. *Of lighter toes, &c.*] In  
the Manuscript these lines were  
thus at first,

*Of nimbler toes, and courtly guise,  
Such as Hermes did devise.*

POEMS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. 125

With the mincing Dryades  
On the lawns, and on the leas.

965

This second Song presents them to their Father and Mother.

Noble Lord, and Lady bright,  
I have brought ye new delight,  
Here behold so goodly grown  
Three fair branches of your own;  
Heav'n hath timely tried their youth, 970  
Their faith, their patience, and their truth,  
And sent them here through hard assays  
With a crown of deathless praise,

964. *With the mincing Dryades*] So Drayton, of the Lancashire lasses, Polyolb. s. xxvii. vol. iii. p. 1183.

—Ye so mincingly that tread.

Again, *ibid.* p. 1185, and 1187. And in his *Eclogues*, vol. vii. p. 1417. where the word may hence be understood.

Now Shepherds lay their winter weeds away,  
And in neat jackets mince on the plain.

Jonson and Shakespeare use the word in the same sense. *T. Warton*.

964. Isa. iii. 16. *The daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with stretched forth necks, and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go, or tripping nicely as in the margin of the Bible. Richardson.*

965. —[on the leas.] An old word for pastures or corn-fields. Spenser, *Shepherd's Calendar*, July.

Shepherds they weren of the best,  
And lived in lowly leas.

Shakespeare, *Tempest*, act iv. s. 3.

Ceres, most bounteous Lady, thy rich leas  
Of wheat, rye, barley, fetches, oats,  
and pease.

Henry V. act v. s. S.

—her fallow leas

The darnel, hemlock, and rank fumitory  
Doth reel upon.

971. *Their faith, their patience.*] The title to this song in the Manuscript is only 2 *Song*: and here he had written at first *patience*, and then *temperance*, and then *patience* again; and this latter is the better, because of *intemperance* following.

973. *With a crown of deathless praise.*] At first he had written,

To a crown of deathless days.

And in the Manuscript the stage-direction following is, *The Daemon sings or soys.*

To triumph in victorious dance  
O'er sensual folly, and intemperance. 975

The dances ended, the Spirit epilogues.

SPIRIT.

To the ocean now I fly,  
And those happy climes that lie  
Where day never shuts his eye,  
Up in the broad fields of the sky:  
There I suck the liquid air 980  
All amidst the gardens fair  
Of Hesperus, and his daughters three  
That sing about the golden tree:

976. *To the ocean now I fly,*  
&c.] This speech is evidently a  
paraphrase on Ariel's song in the  
Tempest, act v. s. 3.

Where the bee sucks, there suck I,  
&c.

Warburton.

976. Pindar in his second  
Olympic, and Homer in his  
fourth Odyssey, describe a happy  
island at the extremity of the  
ocean, or rather earth, where  
the sun has his abode, the sky  
is perpetually serene and bright,  
the west wind always blows,  
and the flowers are of gold.  
This luxuriant imagery Milton  
has dressed anew, from the clas-  
sical gardens of antiquity, from  
Spenser's gardens of Adonis  
"fraught with pleasures mani-  
fold," from the same gardens  
in Marino's L'Adone, Ariosto's  
garden of Paradise, Tasso's  
garden of Armida, and Spenser's  
Bowre of Blisse. The garden  
of Eden is absolutely Milton's  
own creation. T. Warton.

979. *Up in the broad fields of*

*the sky:]* And so in Virgil, *Æn.*  
vi. 888.

*Aëris in campis latis.*

At first he had written *plain*  
*fields.*

980. *There I suck the liquid*  
*air.]* Thus Ubaldo in Fairfax's  
Tasso, a good wizard, who dwells  
in the centre of the earth, but  
sometimes emerges, to breathe  
the purer air of mount Carmel.  
c. xiv. 43.

And there in *liquid eyre* myself  
disport.

T. Warton.

982. *Of Hesperus, and his*  
*daughters three]* He had written  
at first,

*Of Atlas and his wives three.*

Hesperus and Atlas were bro-  
thers.

982. The daughters of Hes-  
perus had gardens or orchards  
which produced apples of gold.  
Spenser makes them the daugh-  
ters of Atlas, F. Q. ii. vii. 54.  
See Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 636. And  
Apollodor. *Bibl.* i. ii. s. 11. But



Along the crisped shades and bowers  
Revels the spruce and jocund Spring,  
The Graces, and the rosy-bosom'd Hours,  
Thither all their bounties bring;  
That there eternal Summer dwells,

985

what ancient fabler celebrates these damsels for their skill in singing; Apollonius Rhodius, an author whom Milton taught to his scholars, Argon. iv. 1396.

—Ἰξον ἔλεον αἶδος ὃ τιν Ἀἰδως  
Εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρυσοῦς ἀργυροῦς ἵσαντο μῆλα,  
Χαίρων ἐν Ἀτλαντοῖς, χρῆσις οἷσι· ΑΜΦΙ  
ΔΙ ΝΥΜΦΑΙ  
ἘΣΠΕΡΙΔΕΣ πικρῶντο, ΕΦΙΜΕΡΟΝ  
ΛΕΙΔΟΥΣΑΙ.

And hence Lucan's virgin-choir, overlooked by the commentators, is to be explained, where he speaks of this golden grove, ix. 360.

—Fuit aures silva,  
Divitiisque graves et fulvo germine  
rarni,  
Virginisque chorus nitidi custodia  
luci,  
Et nunquam somno damnatus lu-  
mina serpens, &c.

Compare v. 392.

But beauty, like the fair *Hesperian tree*  
Laden with blooming gold, had need  
the guard  
Of dragon-watch and unenchanted  
eye.

Milton says in the text, the golden tree. Many say that the apples of Atlas's garden were of gold: Ovid is the only ancient writer that says the trees were of gold. Metam. iv. 636.

Arborem frondes auro radiante niten-  
tes  
Ex auro ramos, ex auro poma tege-  
bant.

T. Warton.

Our author's favourite tragic poet, Euripides, also celebrates the Hesperides under the title of ἑσπερίδης κῆρυς. Herc. Furens, 393. Dunster.

And again as *aeides*, Hippol. 740. where see Professor Monk's note, who cites also Hesiod. Theog. 274. and 516. as alluding to the songs of the Hesperides, and refers to Heynè, Observat. ad Apollodorum, p. 166. seq. for a full account of the ancient fictions concerning them. E.

984. *Along the crisped shades &c.*] These four lines were not at first in the Manuscript, but were added afterwards, I suppose when he scratched out those lines which we quoted at the beginning.

984. Compare Il Pens. 50. "That in trim gardens takes his pleasure." And Arcades, 46.

—To curl the grove  
In ringlets quaint, and wanton  
windings wove.

Where see the notes. I suspect we have something of *L'Architecture du Jardinage* here also, in the spruce spring, the cedarn alleys, the crisped shades and bowers. T. Warton.

988. *That there eternal summer dwells,*] So Fletcher, Faithful Shep. act iv. s. i. p. 163.

On this bower may ever dwell  
Spring and summer.

Again, *ibid.* p. 134.

And west-winds with musky wing  
 About the cedarn alleys fling  
 Nard and Cassia's balmy smells.  
 Iris there with humid bow  
 Waters the odorous banks, that blow

990

—There the month of May  
*Is ever dwelling*, all is young and  
 green, &c.

The errata of Milton's own edition, 1673, direct *That* to be omitted. This is not attended to by Tonson, edit. 1695. *That* is omitted by Tickell and Fenton, and silently readopted by Doctor Newton. *T. Warton.*

989. *And west-winds, with  
 musky wing*

*About the cedarn alleys fling  
 Nard and Cassia's balmy smells]*

So in the approach to Armida's garden in Fairfax's *Tasso*, c. xv. 53.

The winds breath'd spikenard, myrrh,  
 and balm around.

Again, c. xviii. 15.

The air that balm and nardus  
 breath'd unseene.

It should be observed, that Milton often imitates Fairfax's version of *Tasso*, without any reference to the original. I will give a remarkable instance, *Par. L. b. v. 285.*

—Like Maia's son he stood  
 And shook his plumes, that heavenly  
 fragrance fill'd  
 The circuit wide.

So Fairfax, c. i. 14.

On Lebanon at first his foot he set,  
 And shook his wings with roarie  
 may-dews wet.

There is not a syllable of the last beautiful image in *Tasso*, viz. c. i. 14.

*Pria sul Libano monte ei si ritenne,  
 E si librò sù l' adagiate penne.*

*T. Warton.*

990. *About the cedarn alleys  
 fling*

*Nard and Cassia's balmy smells.]*

In the manuscript, these two lines were thus at first,

*About the myrtle alleys fling  
 Balm and Cassia's fragrant smells.*

990. —*alleys fling, &c.]* In a poem by H. Peacham, the *Period of Mourning*, in *Memorie of Prince Henry, &c.* Lond. 1613. Nupt. Hymn. i. st. 3. Of the valleys,

And every where your odours fling.

So in *Par. L. viii. 517.* "*Flung  
 rose, flung odours.*" *T. Warton.*

991. *Nard and Cassia's balmy  
 smells.]* Compare *Par. L. b. v. 292.*

—Through groves of myrrh,  
 And flow'ring odours, cassia, nard,  
 and balm,  
 A wilderness of sweets.

*T. Warton.*

992. *Iris there with humid bow]*  
 He had written at first *garnisht  
 or garish bow.*

993. —*the odorous banks, that  
 blow*

*Flowers &c.]*

*Blow* is here used actively, *make to blow*; as in B. and Fletcher's *Love's Progress*, act ii. s. 1. And in Jonson's *Mask at Highgate*, *Works*, p. 882. ed. 1616. *T. Warton.*

Flowers of more mingled hue  
 Than her purpled scarf can shew,  
 And drenches with Elysian dew  
 (List mortals, if your ears be true)  
 Beds of hyacinth and roses,  
 Where young Adonis oft reposes,

995

995. *Than her purpled scarf can shew, &c.*] *Purpled* is flourished or wrought upon with a needle, from the old French *pourfiler*. The word occurs in Spenser, Faery Queen, b. i. cant. 2. st. 13.

A goodly lady clad in scarlet red  
*Purpled* with gold and pearl of rich array;

and in other places. And in the Manuscript the following lines were thus at first,

*Yellow, watchet, green, and blew.*  
 And drenches oft with manna dew  
 or with Sabatan dew  
 Beds of hyacinth and roses,  
 Where many a Cherub soft reposes.

All that relating to Adonis and Cupid and Psyche was added afterwards.

997. — *If your ears be true.*] Intimating that this Song, which follows, of Adonis, and Cupid, and Psyche, is not for the profane, but only for *well purged ears*. See Upton's Spenser, Notes on b. iii. c. 6. *Hurd*.

See Note on Arcad. v. 72. So the Enchanter, above, has "neither ear nor soul to apprehend" sublime mysteries. His ear no less than his soul, was impure, unpurged, and unprepared. *T. Warton*.

999. *Where young Adonis oft reposes, &c.*] Here Milton has plainly copied and abridged Spenser in his description of the

gardens of Adonis. Faery Queen, b. iii. cant. 6. st. 46—50.

## STANZA 46.

There went fair Venus often to enjoy  
 Her dear Adonis' joyous company,  
 And reap sweet pleasure of the  
 wanton boy;  
 There yet some say in secret he doth  
 lie,  
 Lapped in flowers and precious  
 spicery, &c.

## STANZA 48.

There now he liveth lo eternal bliss,  
 Joylog his Goddess, and of her  
 enjoy'd;  
 Ne feareth he henceforth that foe of  
 his,  
 Which with his cruel tusk him deadly  
 cloy'd: &c.

## STANZA 49.

There now he lives lo everlasting  
 joy,  
 With many of the Gods in company,  
 Which thither haunt, and with the  
 winged boy  
 Sporting himself in safe felicity: &c.

## STANZA 50.

And his true love, fair Psyche, with  
 him plays,  
 Fair Psyche to him lately reconcil'd,  
 After long troubles and unmeet up-  
 brays,  
 With which his mother Venus her  
 revil'd  
 And eke himself her cruelly exil'd:  
 But now in stedfast love and happy  
 state  
 She with him lives, and hath him  
 borne a child,  
 Pleasure that doth both Gods and  
 men aggrate,  
 Pleasure, the daughter of Cupid and  
 Psyche late.

Waxing well of his deep wound 1000  
 In slumber soft, and on the ground  
 Sadly sits th' Assyrian queen;  
 But far above in spangled sheen  
 Celestial Cupid her fam'd son advanc'd,  
 Holds his dear Psyche sweet intranc'd, 1005  
 After her wand'ring labours long,  
 Till free consent the Gods among  
 Make her his eternal bride,  
 And from her fair unspotted side  
 Two blissful twins are to be born, 1010  
 Youth and Joy; so Jove hath sworn.

If the reader desires a larger account of the loves of Cupid and Psyche, he may find it in Apuleius.

1001. See Spenser's *Astrophel*, st. 48. *T. Warlton*.

1002. —[*th' Assyrian queen* ;] Venus is so called because she was first worshipped by the Assyrians. Pausanias, *Attic*, lib. i. cap. 14. *πλησιν δὲ ἰεροῖς ἵστοις Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανιας. πρῶται δὲ ἀνθρώποι Ἀσσυρίους κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τῆς Οὐρανιας* and from the Assyrians other nations derived the worship of her. *μὲτα δὲ Ἀσσυρίους, Κυπρίους Παφίους, καὶ Φοινίκας τοὺς Ἀσκαλωνεῖς ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ. παρὰ δὲ Φοινίκας, Κούβητας μαθεύουσιν εὐσεβεῖν.* Edit. Kuhnii, p. 36.

1003. —[*in spangled sheen*] I think this word is commonly used as an adjective, as in Spenser, *Fairy Queen*, b. ii. cant. i. st. 10.

To spoil her dainty corse so fair and  
*sheen* :

and again, cant. ii. st. 40.

That with her sovereign power and  
*scepter sheen*

All fairy land does peaceable susteen.

But Milton uses it as a substantive both here and before in ver. 893. *the azure sheen*, and in several other places; and he makes *sheeny* the adjective, as in the verses On the death of a fair infant, st. 7.

Or did of late earth's sons besiege the  
 wall

Of *sheeny* heav'n, &c.

In using *sheen* for a substantive Milton has the authority of Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, a. iii. sc. 6.

And thirty dozen moons with bor-  
 row'd *sheen* &c.

1003. See *Observat. on Spenser's F. Q.* ii. 181. *T. Warlton*.

1010. *Two blissful twins* &c.] Undoubtedly Milton's allusion at large is here to Spenser's garden of Adonis, above cited; but at the same time his mythology has a reference to Spenser's *Hymne of Love*. For the fable of Cupid and Psyche, see Fulgentius, iii. 6.

But now my task is smoothly done,  
 I can fly, or I can run  
 Quickly to the green earth's end,  
 Where the bow'd welkin slow doth bend, 1015  
 And from thence can soar as soon  
 To the corners of the moon.

Mortals that would follow me,  
 Love Virtue, she alone is free,  
 She can teach ye how to climb 1020  
 Higher than the sphery chime;

and Apuleius for *Psyche's wandering labours long*. T. Warton.

1012. *But now my task is smoothly done, &c.*] He had written at first,

Now my message [or business] well is done,  
 I can fly, or I can run &c.

The Satyr in the Faithful Shepherdess sustains much the same character and office as the attendant Spirit in the Mask, and he says to the same purpose, act i.

I must go, and I must run  
 Swifter than the fiery sun :

and in the conclusion, his taking leave is somewhat in the same manner,

—shall I stray  
 In the middle air, and stay  
 The sailing rack, or nimbly take  
 Hold by the moon, and gently make  
 Suit to the pale queen of night  
 For a beam to give thee light? &c.

But what follows in Milton is of a strain superior to Fletcher.

1016. *And from thence can soar as soon*

*To the corners of the moon.*]

Oberon says of the swiftness of his fairies, Mids. N. Dr. a. iv. s. 1.

We the globe can compass soon  
 Swifter than the wandering moon.

And Drayton, *Nymphid*. vol. ii. p. 552.

Whence lies a way up to the moon,  
 And thence the faery can as soon, &c.

Compare Macbeth, a. iii. s. 5.

Upon the corner of the moon  
 There hangs a vaporous drop profound.

And Puck's Fairy, in Mids. N. Dr. a. ii. s. 1.

I do wander every where  
 Swifter than the moon's sphere.

We plainly discern Milton's track of reading: T. Warton.

1018. *Mortals that would follow me, &c.*] The moral of this poem is very finely summed up in these concluding six verses; the thought contained in the two last might probably be suggested to our author by a passage in the table of Cebes, where *Patience* and *Perseverance* are represented stooping and stretching out their hands to help up those who are endeavouring to climb the craggy hill of Virtue, and yet are too feeble to ascend of themselves. *Thyer*.

1020. *She can teach ye how to climb &c.*] These four concluding verses furnished Mr. Pope

Or if Virtue feeble were,  
Heav'n itself would stoop to her\*.

with the thought for the conclusion of his Ode on St. Cecilia's day. *Warburton*.

1021. *Higher than the sphery chime.*] *Chime*, Ital. *Cima*. Yet he uses *chime* in the common sense, Ode Nativ. v. 128. He may do so here, but then the expression is licentious, I suppose for the sake of the rhyme. *Hurd*.

*Sphery* occurs in Mids. N. Dr. a. ii. s. 7. "Hernia's *sphery* "eyne."

*Sphery chime* is the music of the spheres. As in Machin's Dumb Knight, 1608. Reed's Old Pl. iv. 447.

It was of silver as the *chime* of spheres.

In the same sense, At a solemn music, v. 9.

—Till disproportion'd sin  
Jarr'd against nature's *chime*.

And in the Ode on the Nativity, st. xiii.

And let your silver *chime*  
Move in melodious time.

Compare P. L. xi. 559. P. R. ii. 363. Milton is fond of the word *chime* in this acceptation, and it has hence been adopted by Dryden. Jonson also has it in several places. *T. Warton*.

1023. —*would stoop to her.*] Would bow to her was at first in the Manuscript, and we have been at the trouble of transcribing these variations and alterations more for the satisfaction of the curious, than for any entertainment that it afforded to ourselves.

\* If this Mask had been revised by Milton, when his ear and judgment were perfectly

formed, it had been the most exquisite of all his poems. As it is, there are some puerilities in it, and many inaccuracies of expression and versification. The two editions of his Poems are of 1645 and 1673. In 1645, he was, as he would think, *better* employed. In 1673, he would condemn himself for having written such a thing as a *Mask*, especially to a great lord, and a sort of viceroy. *Hurd*.

We must not read *Comus* with an eye to the stage, or with the expectation of dramatic propriety. Under this restriction, the absurdity of the Spirit speaking to an audience in a solitary forest at midnight, and the want of reciprocation in the dialogue, are overlooked. *Comus* is a suite of Speeches, not interesting by discrimination of character; not conveying a variety of incidents, nor gradually exciting curiosity; but perpetually attracting attention by sublime sentiment, by fanciful imagery of the richest vein, by an exuberance of picturesque description, poetical allusion, and ornamental expression. While it widely departs from the grotesque anomalies of the *Mask* now in fashion, it does not nearly approach to the natural constitution of a regular play. There is a chastity in the application and conduct of the machinery: and *Sabrina* is introduced with much address, after the Brothers had imprudently suffered the enchantment of *Comus* to take effect. This is the first time the old English *Mask* was in some degree re-

duced to the principles and form of rational composition ; yet still it could not but retain some of its arbitrary peculiarities. The poet had here properly no more to do with the pathos of tragedy, than the character of comedy : nor do I know that he was confined to the usual modes of theatrical interlocation. A great critic observes, that the dispute between the Lady and Comus is the most animated and affecting scene of the piece. Perhaps some other scenes, either consisting only of a soliloquy, or of three or four speeches only, have afforded more true pleasure. The same critic thinks, that in all the moral dialogue, although the language is poetical, and the sentiments generous, something is still wanting to *allure attention*. But surely, in such passages, sentiments so generous, and language so poetical, are sufficient to rouse all our feelings. For this reason I cannot admit his position, that Comus is a drama *tediously instructive*. And if, as he says, to these ethical discussions the auditor listens, as to a lecture, without passion, without anxiety, yet he listens with elevation and delight. The action is said to be improbable : because the Brothers, when their sister sinks with fatigue in a pathless wilderness, wander both away together in search of berries, too far to find their way back, and leave a helpless lady to all the sadness and danger of solitude. But here is no desertion,

or neglect of the lady. The Brothers leave their sister under a spreading pine in the forest, fainting for refreshment : they go to procure berries or some other fruit for her immediate relief, and, with great probability, lose their way in going or returning. To say nothing of the poet's art, in making this very natural and simple accident to be productive of the distress, which forms the future business and complication of the fable. It is certainly a fault, that the Brothers, although with some indications of anxiety, should enter with so much tranquillity, when their sister is lost, and at leisure pronounce philosophical panegyrics on the mysteries of virginity. But we must not too scrupulously attend to the exigencies of situation, nor suffer ourselves to suppose that we are reading a play, which Milton did not mean to write. These splendid insertions will please, independently of the story, from which however they result ; and their elegance and sublimity will overbalance their want of place. In a Greek tragedy, such sentimental harangues, arising from the subject, would have been given to a chorus.

On the whole, whether Comus be or be not deficient as a drama, whether it is considered as an Epic drama, a series of lines, a Mask, or a poem, I am of opinion, that our author is here only inferior to his own *Paradise Lost*.  
T. Warton.

## LYCIDAS.

In this Monody the author bewails a learned friend, unfortunately drowned in his passage from Chester on the Irish seas, 1637; and by occasion foretels the ruin of our corrupted clergy, then in their height.

This poem was made upon the unfortunate and untimely death of Mr. Edward King, son of Sir John King, Secretary for Ireland, a fellow-collegian and intimate friend of our author, who as he was going to visit his relations in Ireland, was drowned on the 10th of August, 1637, and in the twenty-fifth year of his age. The year following, 1638, a small volume of poems Greek, Latin, and English, was printed at Cambridge in honour of his memory, and before them was prefixed the following account of the deceased. P. M. S. Edovardus King, f. Joannis (equitis aurati, qui S S S R R R Elisabethæ, Jacobo, Carolo, pro regno Hiberniæ a secretis) col. Christi in Academia Cant. socius, pietatis atque eruditionis conscientia et fama felix, in quo nihil immaturum præter ætatem; dum Hiberniam cogitat, tractus desiderio suorum, patriam, agnatos et amicos, præ cæteris fratrem, Dominum Robertum King (equitem auratum, virum ornatissimum)

sorores (fœminas lectissimas) Annam, Dom. G. Caulfeild, Baronis de Charlemont; Margaretam, D. G. Loder, summi Hiberniæ Justitiarii, uxorem; venerandum Præsulem, Edovardum King, Episcopum Elphinensem (a quo sacro fonte susceptus) reverendissimum et doctissimum virum Gulielmum Chappel, Decanum ecclesiæ Casseliensis, et collegii Sanctæ Trinitatis apud Dublinenses præpositum (cujus in Academia auditor et alumnus fuerat) invisens; haud procul a littore Britannico, navi in scopulum allisa, et rimis et ictu fatiscente, dum alii vectores vitæ mortalis frustra satagerent, immortalitatem anhelans, in genua provolutus oransque, una cum navigio ab aquis absorptus, animam Deo reddidit IIII. Eid. Sextileis, anno salutis M, DC, XXXVII, ætatis XXV. The last poem in the collection was this of Milton, which by his own Manuscript appears to have been written in November, 1637, when he was almost twenty-nine years old:



YET once more, O ye laurels, and once more  
Ye myrtles brown, with ivy never sere,

and these words in the printed titles of this poem, and by occasion foretells the ruin of our corrupted clergy, then in their height, are not in the Manuscript. This poem is with great judgment made of the pastoral kind, as both Mr. King and Milton had been designed for holy orders and the pastoral care, which gives a peculiar propriety to several passages in it: and in composing it the poet had an eye particularly to Virgil's tenth Eclogue lamenting the unhappy loves of Gallus, and to Spenser's pastoral poems upon the death of the Muses' favourite, Sir Philip Sidney. The reader cannot but observe, that there are more antiquated and obsolete words in this than in any other of Milton's poems; which I conceive to be owing partly to his judgment, for he might think them more rustic, and better adapted to the nature of pastoral poetry; and partly to his imitating of Spenser, for as Spenser's style is most antiquated, where he imitates Chaucer most, in his Shepherd's Calendar, so Milton's imitations of Spenser might have the same effect upon the language of this poem. It is called a *monody*, from a Greek word signifying a mournful or funeral song sung by a single person: and we have lately had two admirable poems published under this title, one occasioned by the death of Mr. Pope by a very ingenious poet of Cambridge, and the other to the memory of his deceased lady by a gentleman, whose excellent

poetry is the least of his many excellencies.

1. *Yet once more*] The poem begins somewhat like Virgil's Gallus,

Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem:

And this *yet once more* is said in allusion to his former poems upon the like occasions, On the death of a fair infant dying of a cough, Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester, &c.

1. —O ye laurels, and once more

Ye myrtles brown, with ivy never sere,]

The *laurel*, as he was a poet, for that was sacred to Apollo; the *myrtle*, as he was of a proper age for love, for that was the plant of Venus; the *ivy*, as a reward of his learning. Hor. Od. i. i. 29.

—doctarum ederae præmia frontium.

*Ivy never sere*, that is, never dry, never withered, being one of the evergreens. We have the word in Paradise Lost, x. 1071. where it was explained and justified by parallel instances from Spenser.

1. The best poets imperceptibly adopt phrases and formularies from the writings of their contemporaries or immediate predecessors. An Elegy on the death of the celebrated Countess of Pembroke, Sir Philip Sydney's sister, begins thus.

Yet once againe, my Muse.

See Songes and Sonnettes of Uncertain Auctours, added to Surrey's and Wyatt's Poems.

I come to pluck your berries harsh and crude,  
 And with forc'd fingers rude  
 Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year. 5  
 Bitter constraint, and sad occasion dear,

Yet once more, has an allusion not merely to some of Milton's former poems on similar occasions, but to his poetical compositions in general, or rather to his last poem, which was *Comus*. He would say, "I am again, in 'the midst of other studies, unexpectedly and unwillingly 'called back to poetry, &c.'" Neither are the plants here mentioned, as some have suspected, appropriated to elegy. They are symbolical of general poetry. Theocritus, in a Epigram cited in the next note, dedicates myrtles to Apollo. In the mean time, I would not exclude another probable implication: by plucking the berries and the leaves of laurel, myrtle, and ivy, he might intend to point out the pastoral or rural turn of his poem. *T. Warton.*

2. *Ye myrtles brown.*] *Brown* and *black* are classical epithets for the myrtle. Theocritus, Epig. i. 3.

Ταὶ δὲ ΜΕΛΑΜΦΥΛΛΑΙ ΔΑΦΝΑΙ ἔνν,  
 Πύθν Πλάστ.

Ovid, *Art. Amator.* lib. iii. 690.

Ros maris, et lauri, nigraque myrtus  
 olet.

Horace contrasts the brown myrtle with the green ivy, *Od.* i. xxxv. 17.

Læta quod pubes edera virenti  
 Gaudent, pulka magis atque myrto.

2. —with ivy never sere.] A notion has prevailed, that this pastoral is written in the Doric

dialect, by which in English we are to understand an antiquated style. But of the three or four words in *Lycidas* which even we now call obsolete, almost all are either used in Milton's other poems, or were familiar to readers and writers of verse in the year 1638. The word *sere*, or *dry*, in the text, one of the most uncommon of these words, occurs in *P. L.* b. x. 1071. And in our author's *Psalms*, ii. 27. *T. Warton.*

3. *I come to pluck your berries harsh and crude.*] This beautiful allusion to the unripe age of his friend, in which death shattered his leaves before the mellowing year, is not antique, I think, but of those secret graces of Spenser. See his *Eclogue* of January in the *Shepherd's Calendar*. The poet there says of himself under the name of Colin Clout,

Also my lustful leaf is dry and sere.

*Richardson.*

5. *Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year.*] So in *P. L.* b. x. 1066.

—shattering the graceful locks  
 Of these fair spreading trees.

*T. Warton.*

6. *Bitter constraint, and sad occasion dear.*] So in Spenser, *Fairy Queen*, b. i. cant. i. st. 53.

Love of yourself, she said, and dear  
 constraint,

Let me not sleep, but waste the  
 weary night

In secret anguish, and unpitied plaint.

*Richardson.*

Compels me to disturb your season due:  
 For Lycidas is dead, dead ere his prime,  
 Young Lycidas, and hath not left his peer:  
 Who would not sing for Lycidas? he knew 10  
 Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme.  
 He must not float upon his wat'ry bier  
 Unwept, and welter to the parching wind,

10. *Who would not sing for Lycidas?*] Virgil, Ecl. x. 3.

—neget quis carmina Gallo?

*He knew*, in Milton's Manuscript it is *he well knew*.

10. —*He knew*

*Himself to sing, &c.]*

At Cambridge, Mr. King was distinguished for his piety, and proficiency in polite literature. He has no inelegant copy of Latin iambs prefixed to a Latin Comedy called *Senile Odium*, acted at Queen's College Cambridge, by the youth of that society, and written by P. Hausted, Cantab. 1633. 12mo. From which I select these lines, as containing a judicious satire on the false taste, and the customary mechanical or unnatural expedients, of the drama that then subsisted.

Non hic cothurni sanguine Insonit  
 rubeat,  
 Nec flagra Megaræ ferrea horrendum  
 Insonant;  
 Noverca nulla sævior Erebo furit;  
 Venena nulla, præter illa dulcia  
 Amoris; atque his vim abstulero  
 noxiam  
 Casti lepores, innocua festivitas,  
 Nativa suavitas, proba elegantia, &c.

He also appears with credit in the Cambridge Public Verses of his time. He has a copy of Latin iambs, in the *Anthologia* on the King's Recovery, Cantab. 1632. 4to. p. 43. Of Latin ele-

giacs, in the *Genethliacum Acad.* Cantabrig. ibid. 1631. 4to. p. 39. Of Latin iambs in *Rex Redux*, ibid. 1633. 4to. p. 14. See also *ΣΥΝΩΔΙΑ*, from Cambridge, ibid. 1637. 4to. Signat. C. 3. I will not say how far these performances justify Milton's panegyric on his friend's poetry. T. Warton.

11. —*and build the lofty rhyme.*] A beautiful Latinism. Hor. Epist. i. iii. 24.

—*seu condit amabile carmen.*

De Arte poet. 436.

—*si carmina condet.*

11. Euripides says still more boldly, because more specifically, "*Λοιδας ΕΠΥΡΩΣΕ*." Suppl. v. 997. Hurd.

The lofty rhyme is "the lofty verse." See P. L. b. i. 16. T. Warton.

12. *He must not float upon his wat'ry bier.*] So Johnson, in *Cynthia's Revells*, acted by the boys of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel, 1600, a. i. s. 2.

—Sing some mourning straine  
 Over his wat'rie hearse.

T. Warton.

13. *Unwept, and weller, &c.]* Thus in our author's *Epitaphium Damonis*, v. 28.

*Indeplorato non comminuere sepulchro.*

T. Warton.

Without the meed of some melodious tear.

Begin then, sisters of the sacred well, 15  
That from beneath the seat of Jove doth spring,  
Begin, and somewhat loudly sweep the string.  
Hence with denial vain, and coy excuse,  
So may some gentle Muse  
With lucky words favour my destin'd urn, 20  
And as he passes turn,

14. *Without the meed*] Without the reward. Spenser, Faery Queen, b. ii. cant. iii. st. 10.

—but honour, virtue's meed,  
Doth bear the fairest flow'r in honourable seed.

14. —*melodious tear.*] For song, or plaintive elegiac strain, the *cause* of tears. Euripides in like manner, Suppl. v. 1128. "Πᾶς δακρυὰ φίρις φιλα—ἐλευσέναι." "Where do you bear the *tears* of 'the dead, i. e. the *remains* or 'ashes of the dead, which occasion our *tears*?' Or perhaps the passage is corrupt. See note on the place, edit. Markland. The same use of *tears*, however, occurs, ibid. v. 454. "Δακρυὰ δ' εἰσιμαζοντι." Hurd.

The passage is undoubtedly corrupt; Πᾶς is superfluous, and mars the context. The late Oxford editor seems to have given the genuine reading, "Ναὶ δακρυὰ φίρις φιλα," [v. 1133.] *T. Warton*.

15. *Begin then, sisters of the sacred well,*

*That from beneath the seat of Jove doth spring,*]

He means Hippocrené, a fountain consecrated to the Muses on mount Helicon, on the side of which was an altar of Heliconian

Jupiter, as Hesiod says in the invocation for his poem on the generation of the Gods.

Μοῦσαι Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχαί, καὶ  
Αἰὶ' Ἑλικωνος ἱχθυόεντος μέγα τι ζα-  
δοντι.  
Καὶ τι σφίρι κενταὶ ἰουδα ποσσὶ ἀνάλαι-  
στοι  
Ορχιζονταί, καὶ βαρύνει κρητύπος ἑρμω-  
ναι.

Begin we from the Muses still to sing,  
That haunt high Helicon, and the  
pure spring,  
And altar of great Jove, with priest-  
less feet  
Dancing surround—

*Richardson.*

18. *Hence with denial vain, and coy excuse,*] The epithet *coy* is at present restrained to Person. Anciently, it was more generally combined. Thus Drayton,

Shepherd, these things are all too *coy*  
for me,

Whose youth is spent in jollity and mirth.

That is, "This knowledge is too  
"hard for me, &c." Eclogues, vii. Milton has the same use of *coy* in the Apology for Smectymnuus. "Thus lie at the mercy of a  
"coy flurting style, &c." Pr. W. i. 105. ed. 1738. *T. Warton*.

21. *And as he passes turn,*] *He* for the  *Muse* seems extraordinary. See Mr. Jortin's note on ver. 973,

And bid fair peace be to my sable shroud.  
 For we were nurst upon the self-same hill,  
 Fed the same flock by fountain, shade, and rill.

Together both, ere the high lawns appear'd 25  
 Under the opening eyelids of the morn,  
 We drove a field, and both together heard

of Samson Agonistes, where this change of the gender is considered.

21. It is probably a corrupt reading. The muse is feminine further on at ver. 58 and 59. And the mistake may have been caused by the concluding letter of the preceding word as being the same as the first of the word *she*. E.

22. *And bid*] So altered in the Manuscript from *To bid* &c.

23. *For we were nurst* &c.] This is assigned as a reason for what he had said before,

Hence with denial vain, and coy excuse.

25. *Together both, &c.*] Here a new paragraph begins in the edition of 1645, and in all that followed. But in the edition of 1638, the whole context is thus pointed and arranged.

For we were nurst upon the self-same hill,

Fed the same flock, by fountain, shade, and rill;

Together both, ere the high lawns appear'd, &c.

T. Warton.

25. Probably the new paragraph should begin at ver. 23. "For we &c." E.

26. —*the opening eyelids of the morn.*] This personizing every thing that is the subject of imagination is a great part of the merit of ancient poetry. The

present place is from Job, the most poetical of all books. Job curses the day in which he was born. *Let the stars of the twilight thereof be dark, let it look for light but have none, neither let it see the dawning of the day.* The Hebrew (that Milton always follows) hath *neither let it see the eyelids of the morning*, iii. 9. Richardson.

*The opening eyelids* was altered in the Manuscript from *the glimmering eyelids*.

26. Perhaps from Thomas Middleton's Game at Chesse, an old forgotten play, published about the end of the reign of James the First, 1625.

—Like a pearl,  
 Dropp'd from the opening eyelids of  
 the morn  
 Upon the bashful rose.

Shakespeare has "*the morning's eye*," Rom. and Jul. act iii. s. 5. Again, act ii. s. 3.

The grey-eyed morn smiles on the frowning night.

T. Warton.

27. "We continued together till noon, and from thence, &c." The gray-fly is called by the naturalists, the *gray-fly* or *trumpet-fly*. Here we have Milton's *horn*, and *sultry horn* is the sharp hum of this insect at noon, or the hottest part of the day. But by some this has been thought the chaffer,

What time the gray-fly winds her sultry horn,  
 Batt'ning our flocks with the fresh dews of night,  
 Oft till the star that rose, at evening, bright, 30

which begins its flight in the evening. *T. Warton.*

27. *We drove afield,*] That is, "we drove our flocks afield." I mention this, that Gray's echo of the passage in the Churchyard Elegy, yet with another meaning, may not mislead many careless readers.

How joyous did they drive the team  
 afield.

See the note, P. R. ii. 365. on Milton's delight in painting the beauties of the morning. In the Apology for Smectymnuus he declares, "Those morning haunts are where they should be, at home: not sleeping or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but up and stirring, in winter often before the sound of any bell awakens men to labour or devotion; in summer, as oft as the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to read good authors, &c." *Prose Works*, i. 109. In *L'Allegro*, one of the first delights of his cheerful man, is to hear the "lark begin her flight." His lovely landscape of Eden always wears its most attractive charms at sun-rising. In the present instance, he more particularly alludes to the stated early hours of a collegiate life, which he shared, on the self-same hill, with his friend Lycidas at Cambridge. *T. Warton.*

28. *What time the gray-fly winds her sultry horn,*] By the gray-fly in this place is meant no doubt a brownish kind of beetle powdered with a little white,

commonly known by the name of the cock-chaffer or dor-fly. These in the hot summer months lie quiet all the day feeding upon the leaves of the oaks and willows, but about sunset fly about with just such a sort of noise as answers the poet's description. The author could not possibly have chosen a circumstance more proper and natural for a shepherd to describe a summer's evening by, nor have expressed it in a more poetical manner. *Thyer.*

Shakespeare has an image of the same kind in his *Macbeth*, but he has expressed it with greater horror suitable to the occasion, act iii. s. 3.

—ere to black Hecate's summons  
 The shard-born beetle with his drowsy hums  
 Hath rung night's yawning peal, &c.

29. *Batt'ning our flocks with the fresh dews of night,*] To batten is both neutral and active, to grow or to make fat. The neutral is most common. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, act iii. s. 4.

Could you on this fair mountain  
 leave to feed,  
 And batten on this moor?

And Drayton, *Ecl. ix. vol. iv. ut supr.* p. 1431.

Their battening flocks on grassie leas  
 to hold.

Milton had this line in his eye. *Batfull*, that is *plentiful*, is a frequent epithet in Drayton, especially in his *Polyolbion*. *T. Warton.*

30. *Oft till the star &c.*] These two lines were thus in the *Manu-*

Tow'ard heav'n's descent had slop'd his west'ring wheel.  
 Mean while the rural ditties were not mute,  
 Temper'd to th' oaten flute,  
 Rough Satyrs danc'd, and Fauns with cloven heel  
 From the glad sound would not be absent long, 35  
 And old Damætas lov'd to hear our song.

But O the heavy change, now thou art gone,  
 Now thou art gone, and never must return!  
 Thee, Shepherd, thee the woods, and desert caves  
 With wild thyme and the gadding vine o'ergrown, 40

script before Milton altered them,

Oft till the co'm-star bright  
 Toward heav'n's descent had slop'd  
 his burnish'd wheel.

31. —his west'ring wheel]  
 Drawing toward the west.  
 Chaucer, Troilus and Creseide,  
 b. ii. ver. 905.

—the sonne  
 Gan westrin fast, and downward for  
 to wrie.

31.] And Spenser has to west.  
 F. Q. v. Introd. 8.

And twice hath risen where he now  
 doth west  
 And wested twice where he ought rise  
 aright.

T. Warton.

33. Temper'd to th' oaten flute,]  
 Boethius III. Metr. 12.

Illic blanda sonantibus  
 Chordis carmina temperans.

Richardson.

So Phineas Fletcher, a popular  
 author in Milton's days, Purpl.  
 Isl. c. ix. st. 3.

Tempering their sweetest notes unto  
 thy lay.

And again, Poeticall Miscel.  
 Camb. 1638. p. 55. Spenser also  
 has, of birds.

To th' waters fall their tunes attemper  
 right.

So P. L. vii. 598.

Temper'd soft tunings.

T. Warton.

34. Rough Satyrs danc'd, and  
 Fauns &c.] Virg. Ecl. vi. 27.

Tum vero in numerum Faunosque  
 ferasque videres  
 Ludere —

Mr. Thyer adds another instance.

Ye sylvans, Fauns, and Satyrs, that  
 among  
 These thickets oft have daunc'd after  
 his pipe; &c.

Past. Ecl. on the death of Sir P.  
 Sidney.

36. And old Damætas lov'd to  
 hear our song.] He means prob-  
 ably Dr. William Chappel, who  
 had been tutor to them both at  
 Cambridge, and was afterwards  
 Bishop of Cork and Ross in Ire-  
 land.

39. Thee, Shepherd, thee the  
 woods, &c.] This line was thus  
 given in the edition of 1633.

Thee shepherds, thee the woods, and  
 desert caves.

T. Warton.

40. With wild thyme and the  
 gadding vine o'ergrown,] Tully,

And all their echoes mourn.

The willows, and the hazel copses green,

Shall now no more be seen,

Fanning their joyous leaves to thy soft lays.

As killing as the canker to the rose,

45

Or taint-worm to the weanling herds that graze,

Or frost to flow'rs, that their gay wardrobe wear,

When first the white-thorn blows;

Such Lycidas, thy loss to shepherds' ear.

Where were ye, nymphs, when the remorseless deep

Clos'd o'er the head of your lov'd Lycidas?

51

For neither were ye playing on the steep,

in a beautiful description of the growth of the vine, says, that it spreads itself abroad "multiplici lapsu et erratico." De Senect. s. xv. T. Warton.

45. *As killing as the canker to the rose,*] Shakespeare is fond of this image, and, from his very frequent repetitions of it, seems to have suggested it to Milton. T. Warton.

47. *Or frost to flow'rs, that their gay wardrobe wear,*] Milton had first written, *their gay buttons wear*; but corrected it in the Manuscript.

50. *Where were ye, Nymphs, &c.*] He imitates Virgil, Ecl. x. 9.

Quæ nemora, aut qui vos saltus  
habuere puellæ  
Naiades, indigno cum Gallus amore  
periret?  
Nam neque Parnassî vobis juga,  
nam neque Pindî  
Ulla moram fecere, neque Aoniæ  
Aganippe.

as Virgil had before imitated Theocritus, Idyl. i. 66.

Πῶς ὅτε καὶ πρὸς Ἰσά Δαφνὸς ἔταυτο;  
καὶ πρὸς Ἄρπη;

Ἡ κατὰ Πάριον καλὰ τέρψις, ἣ κατὰ  
Πρόδα;  
Οὐ γὰρ δὴ στυγερὸν μίζαν ἦσαν οὐχέτι  
Ἀπασιν,  
Οὐδ' Ἀπασιν ἐπαινοῖται, οὐδ' Ἀπιδος ἕρση  
ἰδούρ.

50. But see also Spenser's *Astrophel*, st. 22.

Ah where were ye the while his  
shepherd peares, &c.

T. Warton.

52. —the steep,  
Where your old Bards, the  
famous Druids, lie, &c.]

Mr. Richardson's conjecture upon this passage, I think, is the best I have seen, that this steep, where the Druids lie, is a place called *Kerig y Druidion* in the mountains of Denbighshire, or *Druids' stones*, because of the stonechests or coffins, and other monuments there in abundance, supposed to have been of the Druids. See Camden. *Mona* is the isle of *Anglesey*, or the *shady island* as it was called by the ancient Britons. And *Deva* is the river *Dee*, the meaning of which word *Deva* is by some supposed to be *divine water*.



Where your old Bards, the famous Druids, lie,  
 Nor on the shaggy top of Mona high,  
 Nor yet where Deva spreads her wizard stream: 55

See Camden's Cheshire. And for the same reason that it is here called *wizard stream*, it has the name of *ancient hallow'd Dee* in our author's *Vacation Exercise*; and Spenser thus introduces it among his rivers, Faery Queen, b. iv. cant. 11. st. 59.

—And Dee, which Britons long  
 ygone  
 Did call *divine*, that doth by Chester  
 lend.

And Drayton in his *Polyolbion*,  
 Song x.

A brooke it was, suppos'd much  
 bus'ness to have seen,  
 Which had an ancient bound 'twixt  
 Wales and England been,  
 And noted was by both to be an  
 ominous flood,  
 That changing of his foards, the  
 future ill or good  
 Of either country told, of either's  
 war or peace,  
 The sickness or the health, the dearth  
 or the increase &c.

These places all look toward  
 Ireland, and were famous for  
 the residence of the *Bards* and  
*Druids*, who are distinguished  
 by most authors, but Milton  
 speaks of them as the same, and  
 probably as *priests* they were  
*Druids*, and as *poets* they were  
*Bards*. For Cæsar, who has  
 given us the best and most  
 authentic account of the ancient  
 Druids, says, that among other  
 things they learn a great number  
 of verses. *Magnum ibi nume-  
 rum versuum ediscere dicuntur.*  
*De Bel. Gall. lib. vi. c. 13.*

54. *Nor on the shaggy top of  
 Mona high,*] In Drayton's *Poly-  
 olbion*, *Mona* is introduced re-

citing her own history; where  
 she mentions her thick and dark  
 groves as the favourite residence  
 of the Druids.

Sometimes within my shades, in  
 many an ancient wood,  
 Whose often-twined tops great Phe-  
 bus fires withstood,  
 The fearless British priests, under  
 an aged oak, &c.

Where, says Selden, "the British  
 "Druids tooke this isle of An-  
 "glesey, then well-stored with  
 "thicke woods and religious  
 "groves, in so much that it was  
 "then called *Inis dowil*, *The*  
 "*dark isle*, for their chiefe resi-  
 "dence, &c." s. ix. vol. iii. p.  
 837. 839. Here are Milton's au-  
 thorities. For the *Druid-sepul-  
 chres*, at *Kerig y Druidion*, he  
 consulted Camden. *T. Warton.*  
 54. —*shaggy top*] So P. L.  
 vi. 645. The angels uplift the  
 hills,

—By their *shaggy tops*.  
*T. Warton.*

55. *Nor yet where Deva spreads  
 her wizard stream:*] In Spenser,  
 the river Dee is the haunt of  
 magicians. *Faery Queen*, i. ix. 4.  
 The Dee has been made the  
 scene of a variety of ancient  
 British traditions. The city of  
 Chester was called by the Britons  
 the *Fortress upon Dee*; which  
 was feigned to have been founded  
 by the giant Leon, and to have  
 been the place of King Arthur's  
 magnificent coronation.

But there is another and per-  
 haps a better reason, why Deva's  
 is a *wizard stream*. In Drayton,  
 this river is styled the *hallowed*,

Aye me! I fondly dream

Had ye been there, for what could that have done?

and the *holy*, and the *ominous flood*. Polyolb. s. x. vol. iii. p. 848. s. ix. vol. iii. p. 287. s. iv. vol. ii. p. 731. Again, "*holy Dee*," Heroicall Epist. vol. i. p. 293. And in his *Ideas*, vol. iv. p. 1271. And Browne, in his *Britannia's Pastorals*, b. ii. s. v. p. 117. edit. 1616.

Never more let *holy Dee*  
Ore other rivers brave, &c.

Much superstition was founded on the circumstance of its being the ancient boundary between England and Wales: see Drayton, s. x. See also s. iii. vol. ii. p. 711. s. xii. vol. iii. p. 901. But in the Eleventh Song, Drayton calls the Weever, a river of Cheshire, "*The wizard river*," and immediately subjoins, that in *prophetick Skill* it vies with the *Dee*, s. xi. vol. iii. p. 861. Here we seem to have the origin and the precise meaning of Milton's appellation. In *Comus*, *Wizard* also signifies a *Diviner* where it is applied to Proteus, v. 872.

By the Carpathian wizard's hook.

Milton appears to have taken a particular pleasure in mentioning this venerable river. In the beginning of his first *Elegy*, he almost goes out of his way to specify his friend's residence on the banks of the *Dee*; which he describes with the picturesque and real circumstance of its tumbling headlong over rocks and precipices into the Irish sea. El. i. 1.

—Occidua *Deve* *Cæstris* ab ora,  
*Vergivum* promo qua petit amne  
salutem.

But to return to the text immediately before us. In the midst of this wild imagery, the tombs of the Druids, dispersed over the solitary mountains of Denbighshire, the shaggy summits of Mona, and the wizard waters of Deva, Milton was in his favourite track of poetry. He delighted in the old British traditions and fabulous histories. But his imagination seems to have been in some measure warmed, and perhaps directed to these objects, by reading Drayton; who in the Ninth and Tenth Songs of his *Polyolbion* has very copiously enlarged, and almost at one view, on this scenery. It is, however, with great force and felicity of fancy, that Milton, in transferring the classical seats of the Muses to Britain, has substituted places of the most romantic kind, inhabited by Druids, and consecrated by the visions of British bards. And it has been justly remarked, how coldly and unpoetically Pope, in his very correct pastorals, has on the same occasion selected only the *fair fields* of *Isis*, and the *winding vales* of *Cam*.

But at the same time there is an immediate propriety in the substitution of these places. They are in the vicinity of the Irish seas, where *Lycidas* was shipwrecked. It is thus *Theocritus* asks the *Nymphs*, how it came to pass, that when *Daphnis* died, they were not in the delicious vales of *Peneus*, or on the banks of the great torrent *Anapus*, the sacred water of *Acis*, or on the summits of mount *Etna*: because

What could the Muse herself that Orpheus bore,  
 The Muse herself for her enchanting son,  
 Whom universal nature did lament, 60  
 When by the rout that made the hideous roar,  
 His goary visage down the stream was sent,

all these were the haunts or the habitation of the shepherd Daphnis. These rivers and rocks have a real connection with the poet's subject. *T. Warton.*

56. *Aye me! I fondly dream  
 Had ye been there, for what  
 could that have done?*

We have here followed the pointing of Milton's manuscript in preference to all the editions: and the meaning plainly is, I fondly dream of your having been there, for what would that have signified? Mr. Thyer conjectured that the passage should be so pointed, and Milton has so pointed it, though he does not often observe the stops in his Manuscript. Mr. Jortin likewise perceived this to be the sense; and asks whether this transposition would not be better than the common reading.

*Had ye been there—Aye me, I fondly  
 dream  
 For what could that have done?  
 What could the Muse &c.*

56. Perhaps the passage may be understood thus, "I fondly dream of your assistance if ye had been there, for what could your presence have availed? What could the Muse herself, &c."

The printed copies of 1638, 1645, and 1673, have it,

*Aye me, I fondly dream!  
 Had ye been there—for what could  
 that have done?*

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And the two last of these editions were printed under Milton's eye. Hence Mr. Warton reads,

*Aye me! I fondly dream!  
 Had ye been there, &c.*

and he thus explains the passage, "Ah me! I am fondly dreaming! I will suppose you had been there—but why should I suppose it, for what would that have availed?" The words in Italics supplying the ellipsis. *E.*

58. *What could the Muse &c.]* Milton had first written thus,

*What could the golden hair'd Calliope  
 For her enchanting son!  
 When she beheld (the Gods fur-sighted  
 be)  
 His goary scalp roll down the Thra-  
 cian lee:*

but in his Manuscript he altered these lines with judgment. And afterwards his goary visage was a correction from his divine visage.

58. P. L. vii. 37. Of Orpheus torn in pieces by the Bacchanals.

*—Nor could the Muse defend  
 Her son.*

And his murderers are called "that wild rout," v. 34. Calliope was the mother of Orpheus. Lycidas, as a poet, is here tacitly compared with Orpheus. *T. Warton.*

60. —*Universal nature.]* So "universal Pan," P. L. iv. 266. *T. Warton.*

L

Down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore?

Alas! what boots it with incessant care  
To tend the homely slighted shepherd's trade, 65  
And strictly meditate the thankless Muse?  
Were it not better done as others use,  
To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,  
Or with the tangles of Neæra's hair?  
Fame is the spur that the clear spi'rit doth raise 70  
(That last infirmity of noble mind)

63. *Down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore.*] In calling Hebrus *swift*, Milton, who is avaricious of classical authority, appears to have followed a verse in the *Æneid*, i. 321.

—*Volucrumque fuga prævertitur Hebrum.*

But Milton was misled by a wrong, although a very ancient, reading. Even Servius blames his author for attributing this epithet to Hebrus, "*Nam quietissimus est, etiam cum per hyemem crescit.*" [See Burman's *Virgil*, vol. i. p. 95. col. i. edit. 1746. 4to.] Besides, what was the merit of the amazon huntress Harpalyce to outstrip a river, even if uncommonly rapid? The genuine reading might have been *Eurum*, as Rutgersius proposed.

—*Volucrumque fuga prævertitur Eurum.*

T. Warton.

66. *And strictly meditate the thankless Muse?*] *Meditate the Muse*, *Virg. Ecl. i. 2. Musam meditari.* The *thankless Muse*, that earns no thanks, is not thanked by the ungrateful world: as *ingratus* in Latin is used in a passive as well as active signification. Sallust, *Cat. xxxviii.*

*otium ingrato labori prætulerat. Virg. Æn. vii. 425.*

I nunc, *ingratis* offer te, *lrisse, periculis.*

68. *To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,  
Or with the tangles of Neæra's hair?*

*Amaryllis*, a country lass in Theocritus and Virgil. *Neæra*, Ægon's mistress in Virgil's third *Eclogue*. Peck.

But Mr. Warton shews, that in all probability Milton is here glancing at Buchanan, whose addresses to *Amaryllis* and *Neæra* were well known at the time. See note at the end of the *Elegies*. E.

69. *Or with the tangles &c.*] So corrected in the Manuscript from *Hid* in the tangles &c.

70. *Fame is the spur &c.*] The reader may see the same sentiment enlarged upon in the *Paradise Regained*, iii. 25. and confirmed in the notes by numerous quotations from the heathen philosophers.

71. *That last infirmity of noble mind.*] Abate Grillo, in his *Lettere*, has called "*questa sete di fama et gloria, ordinaria infermità degli animi generosi.*"

To scorn delights, and live laborious days ;  
 But the fair guerdon when we hope to find,  
 And think to burst out into sudden blaze,  
 Comes the blind Fury with th' abhorred shears, 75  
 And slits the thin spun life. But not the praise,  
 Phæbus replied, and touch'd my trembling ears ;

Lib. ii. p. 210. ed. Ven. 1604.  
*Bocle.*

Τῆς κρισεως, ὡς τελευταίης χιτῆος,  
 ἢ ψυχῆ πειρομένη ἀποτίσθαι, says  
 Plato. And Tacitus, Hist. iv. 5.  
 "etiam sapientibus cupido gloriæ  
 "novissima exiit." See the  
 note on P. R. iii. 47. *Jortin.*

73. But the fair guerdon] Prize,  
 reward, recompense. A word  
 from the French, often used by  
 our old writers, and particularly  
 Spenser. Faery Queen, b. i.  
 cant. vii. st. 15.

To gain so goodly guerdon.

Cant. x. st. 59.

That glory does to them for guerdon  
 grant.

74. And think to burst out into  
 sudden blaze,] He is speaking  
 of fame. So in P. R. iii. 47.

For what is glory but the blaze of  
 fame, &c.

*T. Warton.*

75. Comes the blind Fury &c.]  
 Of the three fatal sisters, the  
 first prepared the flax upon the  
 distaff, the stamen of human life ;  
 the second spun it ; and the  
 third cut it off with her shears,  
 when the destined hour was  
 come. These were distinct from  
 the Furies, but Milton calls the  
 last a *blind Fury* in his indigna-  
 tion for her cutting his friend's  
 thread of life untimely and un-  
 deserved. *Richardson.*

Milton here has made the *Fates*  
 the same with the *Furies* ; which  
 is not quite destitute of autho-  
 rity, for so Orpheus in his hymns,  
 two of which are addressed to  
 these Goddesses, styles them,

Ἄλλα θίαι μοῖραι ἐπισπλάκαμαι σπέρματι-  
 φον.

*Sympson.*

In Shakespeare are the shears  
 of Destiny, with more propriety.  
*K. John*, a. iv. s. 2.

Think you I bear the shears of destiny?

Milton, however, does not here  
 confound the Fates and the  
 Furies. He only calls Destiny  
 a Fury. In Spenser, we have  
*blind Fury*. Ruins of Rome, st.  
 xxiv.

If the *blinde Furie* which warres  
 breedeth oft.

And in Sackville's Gordobucke,  
 a. v. s. 3.

O Jove, how are these people's hearts  
 abus'd,  
 And what *blind Fury* headlong carries  
 them ?

See Observations on Spenser's  
 Faery Queen, vol. ii. p. 255.  
 edit. 2. *T. Warton.*

77. Phæbus replied, and touch'd  
 my trembling ears ;] Virgil, Ecl.  
 vi. 3.

—Cynthiaus aurem.  
 Vellit et admonuit.

L 2

Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,  
 Nor in the glist'ring foil  
 Set off to th' world, nor in broad rumour lies, 80  
 But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes,  
 And perfect witness of all-judging Jove ;  
 As he pronounces lastly on each deed,  
 Of so much fame in heav'n expect thy meed.

O fountain Arethuse, and thou honour'd flood, 85  
 Smooth-sliding Mincius, crown'd with vocal reeds,  
 That strain I heard was of a higher mood :  
 But now my oat proceeds,  
 And listens to the herald of the sea

79. *Nor in the glist'ring foil*  
 Spenser, Faery Queen, b. iv.  
 cant. v. st. 15.

As guileful goldsmith that by secret  
 skill  
 With golden foil doth finely over-  
 spread  
 Some baser metal, &c.

85. *O fountain Arethuse, &c.*  
 Now Phæbus, whose strain was  
 of a higher mood, has done  
 speaking, he invokes the *foun-  
 tain Arethuse* of Sicily the country  
 of Theocritus, and *Mincius*, the  
 river of Mantua, Virgil's country,  
 which river he calls *honoured  
 flood* to shew his respect to that  
 poet, and describes much in the  
 same manner as Virgil himself  
 has done, Georg. iii. 14.

—tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat  
 Mincius, et tenera prætexit arundine  
 ripas.

It was the more necessary for  
 him to call to mind these two  
 famous pastoral poets, as now  
 his own *oaten pipe proceeds*.

85. In giving Arethusa the  
 distinctive appellation of *Foun-*

*tain*, Milton closely and learnedly  
 attends to the ancient Greek  
 writers. See more particularly  
 the scholiast on Theocritus,  
 Idyll. i. 117. And Servius on  
 Virgil, Æn. iii. 694. Ecl. x. 4.  
 Homer says, Odys. xiii. 408.  
 ΕΞ ΤΙ ΚΡΗΝΗ Αρεθούρα. Compare  
 Hesychius, and his annotators, v.  
 ΚΟΡΑΚΟΣ, ΑΛΦΕΙΟΣ ΑΡΕΘΟΥ-  
 ΣΑ. And Stephanus Byzant.  
 Berkel. p. 162. T. Warton.

85. —and thou honour'd flood,  
*Smooth-sliding Mincius*,  
 It was at first,

—and thou smooth flood,  
*Soft-sliding Mincius* ;

and then *smooth* was altered to  
*famed*, and then to *honoured* in  
 the Manuscript; as *soft-sliding*  
 was to *smooth-sliding*.

89. —the herald of the sea &c.]  
 Triton. Hippotades, Æolus the  
 son of Hippotas, called *sage*  
 from foreknowing the weather.  
*Panope*, a sea-nymph: the word  
 itself signifies that pure calm  
 and tranquillity that gives an  
 unbounded prospect over the

That came in Neptune's plea ; 90  
 He ask'd the waves, and ask'd the felon winds,  
 What hard mishap hath doom'd this gentle swain ?  
 And question'd every gust of rugged wings  
 That blows from off each beaked promontory ;  
 They knew not of his story, 95  
 And sage Hippotades their answer brings,  
 That not a blast was from his dungeon stray'd,  
 The air was calm, and on the level brine  
 Sleek Panope with all her sisters play'd.  
 It was that fatal and perfidious bark 100  
 Built in th' eclipse, and rigg'd with curses dark,

smooth and level brine; therefore sleek Panope. Richardson.

94. —each beaked promontory ;] Drayton has "The utmost end "of Cornwall's furrowing beak." Polyolb. s. i. vol ii. p. 657. T. Warton.

101. Built in th' eclipse, &c.] Horace speaks much in the same spirit concerning the tree by whose fall he was in danger of being killed. Od. ii. xiii. 1.

*Ille et nefasto te posuit die &c.*

And so of a ship, Epod. x. 1.

*Mala soluta navis exit allie.*

And the misfortune is ascribed to the ship according to the Latin inscription at the beginning of the poem, —navi in scopulum allisa, et rimis et ictu fatiscente.

101. Although Horace has two passages similar to this, yet how much more poetical and striking is the imagery of Milton, that the ship was built in the eclipse, and rigged with curses. Dr. J. Warton.

Evidently with a view to the

enchantments in Macbeth, a. iv. s. 1.

—Slips of yew

Silver'd in the moon's eclipse.

Again, in the same incantation,

Root of hemlock digg'd i' th' dark.

The shipwreck was occasioned not by a storm, but the bad condition of the ship, unfit for so dangerous a navigation. T. Warton.

101. Mr. Warton adds, that "the ship, a very crazy vessel, "struck on a rock, and suddenly "sunk to the bottom with all "that were on board, not one "escaping." A more correct account of this disaster, given by Hogg, who in 1694 published a Latin translation of Lycidas, informs us, that several escaped in the boat from the sinking vessel; but that Mr. King and some others, fatally unmoved by the importunities of their associates, continued on board and perished. Dr. Symmons, *Life of Milton*, p. 103.

That sunk so low that sacred head of thine.

Next Camus, reverend sire, went footing slow,  
His mantle hairy, and his bonnet sedge,  
Inwrought with figures dim, and on the edge 105  
Like to that sanguine flow'r inscrib'd with woe.  
Ah! Who hath reft (quoth he) my dearest pledge?

103. *Next Camus, reverend sire, &c.*] The river *Cam* is fitly introduced upon this occasion, and is called *reverend sire*, as both Mr. King and Milton were educated at Cambridge; and is described according to the nature of that river. *Went footing slow*, as it is a gentle winding stream, according to Camden, who says the British word *Cam* signifies crooked. It abounds too with reeds and sedge, for which reason his mantle is hairy, and his bonnet sedge, which as a testimony of his grief and mourning was *inwrought with figures dim*, and on the edge like to a hyacinth, that sanguine flower, as it sprung according to the poets from the blood of the boy Hyacinthus or of Ajax, inscribed with woe as the leaves were imagined to be marked with the mournful letters A. A. For these particulars you may consult the poets, and especially Ovid, Met. x. 210.

Ecce cruor, qui fusus humi signave-  
rat herbam,  
Desinit esse cruor; Tyrioque nitenti-  
or ostro  
Flos oritur, formamque capit, quam  
lilia, si non  
Purpureus color huius, argenteus esset  
in illis.  
Non salis hoc Phœbo est; is enim  
sult auctor honoris;  
Ipse suos gemitus foliis inscribit; et  
Ai Ai  
Flos habet inscriptum; funestaque  
littera ducta est.

105. *Inwrought with figures dim,*] In the Manuscript it was first written *Scrawl'd o'er*: *Inwrought* is the marginal reading there.

105. — *figures dim,*] Alluding to the fabulous traditions of the high antiquity of Cambridge. But how *Cam* was distinguished by a hairy mantle from other rivers, I know not. Warburton.

It is very probable, that the hairy mantle, being joined with the sedge-bonnet, may mean his rushy or reedy banks. See Notes on El. i. 89. It would be difficult to ascertain the meaning of *figures dim*. Perhaps the poet himself had no very clear or determinate idea: but, in obscure and mysterious expressions, leaves something to be supplied or explained by the reader's imagination. T. War-  
ton.

107. *Ah! Who hath reft, quoth he, my dearest pledge?*] Mr. Bowle compares this line with one in the *Rime spirituali* of Angelo Grillo, fol. 7. a. It is a part of the Virgin's lamentation on the Passion of Christ.

Och, disse, ove ne vai mio caro  
pegno?

"Alas, quoth she, where goest  
"thou, my dear pledge?" And he  
cites also Spenser's *Daphnida*,  
where the subject is the same.



Last came, and last did go,  
 The pilot of the Galilean lake,  
 Two massy keys he bore of metals twain, 110  
 (The golden opes, the iron shuts amain,)  
 He shook his miter'd locks, and stern bespake,  
 How well could I have spar'd for thee, young swain,  
 Enow of such as for their bellies sake

And *rest* from me my sweet com-  
 panion,  
 And *rest* from me my love, my life,  
 my hart.

T. Warton.

107. —*my dearest pledge?*] My dearest child, as children were simply called by the Latins *pignora*, pledges. Richardson.

109. *The pilot of the Galilean lake, &c.*] Milton finely raises the character of St. Peter by making him the *pilot* of the lake of Genesareth in Galilee. See how artfully he takes this hint from Luke v. The *two keys* (which he hath likewise painted poetically) Christ himself gave him. Matt. xvi. 19. But the *mitre*, which has so fine an effect in this picture, Milton would not have allowed him a very few years afterwards. See his treatise of Prelatical Episcopacy. Richardson.

It seems somewhat extraordinary to introduce St. Peter after Apollo, Triton, &c. a Christian bishop among heathen deities; but here Milton's imagination was dazzled, his taste corrupted, and his judgment perverted by reading the Italian poets.

110. *The golden opes,*] Saint Peter's two keys in the Gospel, seem to have supplied modern poetry with the allegoric machinery of two keys, which are variously used. See Dante's *Inferno*, cant. xiii. and c. xxvii.

And hence perhaps the two keys, although with a different application, which Nature, in Gray's Ode on the Power of Poetry, presents to the infant Shakespeare. In *Comus*, an admired poetical image was perhaps suggested by Saint Peter's golden key, v. 13. Where he mentions

—That golden key  
 That opes the palace of eternity.

T. Warton.

112. *He shook his miter'd locks,*] It is much that this inveterate enemy of prelacy would allow Peter to be a bishop. But the whole circumstance is taken from the Italian satirists. Besides I suppose he thought it sharpened his satire to have the prelacy condemned by one of their own order. Warburton.

King was intended for the church. T. Warton.

114. *Enow of such &c.*] As Milton has frequently imitated his master Spenser in this poem, so in this place particularly he has had an eye to Spenser's invectives against the corruptions of the clergy in his fifth, seventh, and ninth Eclogues.

114. Thus in P. L. b. iv. 193.

So clomb this first grand theft into  
 God's fold:  
 So since into his church lewd hire-  
 lings climb.

Where *lewd* signifies ignorant.

Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold? 115  
 Of other care they little reck'ning make,  
 Than how to scramble at the shearer's feast,  
 And shove away the worthy bidden guest;  
 Blind mouths! that scarce themselves know how to hold  
 A sheep-hook, or have learn'd ought else the least 120  
 That to the faithful herdsman's art belongs!  
 What recks it them! What need they? They are sped;  
 And when they list, their lean and flashy songs

Even after the dissolution of the hierarchy, he held this opinion. In his sixteenth Sonnet, written 1652, he supplicates Cromwell,

—To save free conscience from the paw  
 Of hireling wolves, whose Gospel is  
 their m. w.

During the usurpation, he published a pamphlet entitled "The likeliest means to remove 'Hirelings out of the church,'" against the revenues transferred from the old ecclesiastic establishment to the presbyterian ministers. See also his book of Reformation in England, Prose Works, vol. i. 28. T. Warton.

119. *Blind mouths! that scarce themselves know how to hold  
 A sheep-hook, &c.]*

See instances of the like construction in *Paradise Lost*, v. 711. and the note there. I will here add another from Horace, Sat. ii. ii. 39.

*Porrectum magno magnum spectare  
 catino  
 Veilem, ait Harpyiis gula digna rapacibus.*

120. *A sheep-hook,]* In the tract on the Reformation he says, "Let him advise how he can reject the *pastorly* rod and *sheep-hook* of Christ." Pr. W. vol. i.

15. Wickliffe's pamphlets are full of this pastoral allusion. T. Warton.

191. *That to the faithful herdsman's art belongs!]* Peck would read *shepherd*, because a *herdman* does not keep sheep. But *herdman* (not *herdsman*) has a general sense in our old writers; and often occurs in Sydney's *Arcadia*, a book well known to Milton. In our old Pastorals, *heard-groome* sometimes occurs for *shepherd*. T. Warton.

122. See note on *Comus*, 404. He might here use *reck* as a pastoral word occurring in Spenser's *Kalendar*, Decemb. "What *recked* I of wintry age's waste." T. Warton.

123. *And when they list, their lean and flashy songs*

*Grate on their scannel pipes of wretched straw;]*

No sound of words can be more expressive of the sense; and how finely has he imitated, or rather improved, that passage in Virgil! Ecl. iii. 26.

—*Non tu in triviis, indocte, solebas  
 Studenti miserum stipula disperdere  
 carmen?*

I remember not to have seen the word *scannel* in any other au-

Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw;  
 The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed, 125  
 But swoll'n with wind, and the rank mist they draw,  
 Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread:  
 Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw

thor, nor can I find it in any dictionary or glossary that I have consulted; but I presume it answers to the *stridenti* of Virgil.

124. *Scrannel* is thin, meagre. "A *scrannel* pipe of straw" is contemptuously for Virgil's "*te-nuis avena*." T. Warton.

*Scrannel* is vile, worthless. Johnson.

128. *Besides what the grim wolf &c.*] We offered some explication of this difficult passage in the Life of Milton, that the poet meant to accuse Archbishop Laud of privily introducing popery, and therefore in his zeal threatened him with the loss of his head; which notion was suggested to me by Dr. Pearce, the Lord Bishop of Bangor. We exhibit too Mr. Warburton's explanation of this passage in the note on v. 130. But if neither of these accounts seem satisfactory to the reader, we will lay before him another, in which we have the concurrence of Mr. Thyer and Mr. Richardson. *Besides what the grim wolf &c.* Besides what the popish priests privately pervert to their religion; and Spenser, in his ninth Eclogue, describes them under the same image of wolves, and complains much in the same manner.

Yes but they gang in more secret wise,  
 And with sheep's clothing doen hem disguise.

They talk not widely as they were wont,  
 For fear of raungers and the great hoont:  
 But privily prolling to and fro,  
 Enaunter they mought be inly know.

*And nothing said*, this agrees very well with the popular clamours of that age against the supposed connivance of the court at the propagation of popery. In Milton's Manuscript *nothing* is blotted out, and it is corrected by his own hand—and *little said*, which is juster and better. *But that two-handed engine &c.* that is, the axe of reformation, is upon the point of smiting once for all. It is an allusion to Matt. iii. 10. Luke iii. 9. *And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees.* An axe is properly a two-handed engine. *At the door*, that is, this reformation is now ripe, and at hand; *near, even at the doors*, Matt. xxiv. 33. *Behold the judge standeth before the door*, James v. 9. And it was to be a thorough and effectual reformation, *Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more*, in allusion to the language of Scripture, 1 Sam. xxvi. 8. *Let me smite him, I pray thee, with the spear, even to the earth at once, and I will not smite him the second time.* This explication is the more probable, as it agrees so well with Milton's sentiments and expressions in other parts of his works. His head was full of these thoughts, and he was in

Daily devours apace, and nothing said,  
But that two-handed engine at the door  
Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.

130

expectation of some mighty alteration in religion, as appears from the earliest of his prose works, which were published not four years after this poem. In the second book of his treatise of Reformation in England, he employs the same metaphor of the *axe of God's reformation, hewing at the old and hollow trunk of papacy*, and presages the time of the bishops to be but short, and compares them to a wen that is going to be cut off. Vol. i. p. 17, 18. edit. 1738. And in his *Animadversions upon the Remonstrants' Defence*, addressing himself to the Son of God, he says, — *but thy kingdom is now at hand, and thou standing at the door. Come forth out of thy royal chambers, O Prince of all the kings of the earth, — for now the voice of thy bride calls thee, and all creatures sigh to be renewed*, p. 91. The reading of these treatises of Milton will sufficiently make appear what his meaning must be, and how much about this time he thought of lopping off prelatical episcopacy.

128. It has been conjectured, that Milton in this passage has copied the sentiments of Piers, a protestant controversial shepherd, in Spenser's *Eclogue*, May. Of this there can be no doubt: for our author, in another of his puritanical tracts, written 1641, illustrates his arguments for purging the church of its rapacious hirclings and insidious wolves, by a quotation of almost the whole of Piers's speech; ob-

serving, that Spenser puts these words into the mouth of his righteous shepherd, "not without some presage of these reforming times." *Animadv. on the Remonstr. Def. ubi supr.* vol. i. p. 98. *T. Warton.*

130. *But that two-handed engine at the door*

*Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.*]

These are the last words of Peter predicting God's vengeance on his church by his ministry. The making him the minister is in imitation of the Italian poets, who in their satiric pieces against the church, always make Peter the minister of vengeance. The *two-handed engine* is the two-handed Gothic sword with which the painters draw him. Compare *P. L.* vi. 251, where the sword of Michael is "with huge two-handed sway brandished aloft." *Stands ready at the door* was then a common phrase to signify any thing imminent. *To smite once, and smite no more*, signifies a final destruction, but alludes to Peter's single use of his sword in the case of the high priest's servant. *Warburton.*

In these lines our author anticipates the execution of Archbishop Laud by a *two-handed engine*, that is, the axe; insinuating that his death would remove all grievances in religion, and complete the reformation of the church. Doctor Warburton's supposition only embarrasses the passage. Michael's sword "with huge two-handed sway" is evi-

Return Alpheus, the dread voice is past,  
 That shrunk thy streams; return Sicilian Muse,  
 And call the vales, and bid them hither cast  
 Their bells, and flowrets of a thousand hues. 135  
 Ye valleys low, where the mild whispers use  
 Of shades, and wanton winds, and gushing brooks,  
 On whose fresh lap the swart star sparely looks,

dently the old Gothic sword of chivalry. This is styled an *engine*, and the expression is a periphrasis for an axe, which the poet did not choose to name in plain terms. The sense therefore of the context seems to be, "But there will soon be an end of all these evils: the axe is at hand, to take off the head of him who has been the great abettor of these corruptions of the Gospel. This will be done by one stroke."

In the mean time, it coincides just as well with the tenour of Milton's doctrine, to suppose, that he alludes in a more general acceptation to our Saviour's metaphorical *axe* in the Gospel, which was to be *laid to the root of the tree*, and whose stroke was to be quick and decisive.

It is matter of surprise, that this violent invective against the Church of England and the hierarchy, couched indeed in terms a little mysterious yet sufficiently intelligible, and covered only by a transparent veil of allegory, should have been published under the sanction and from the press of one of our Universities; or that it should afterwards have escaped the severest animadversions, at a period when the proscriptions of the Star-chamber, and the power of Laud,

were at their height. Milton, under pretence of exposing the faults or abuses of the episcopal clergy, attacks their establishment, and strikes at their existence. *T. Warton.*

132. *Return Alpheus, &c.*] As he had before distinguished the voice of Apollo, so here he far more exalts that *dread* one of St. Peter, that quite *shrinks* up the stream of *Alpheus*. Now this is *past*, return *Sicilian Muse*, Sicelides Musæ. Virg. Ecl. iv. 1. Now comes pastoral poetry again, and calls the vales to cast their flowers on Lycidas's hearse, according to the custom of the ancients. *Richardson.*

136. —[*where the mild whispers use*] The word *use* is employed in the same sense by Spenser, *Faery Queen*, b. vi. st. 2.

Guide ye my footing, and conduct me well

In these strange ways, where never foot did use,

Ne none can find, but who was taught them by the Muse.

138. *On whose fresh lap the swart star sparely looks.*] The *swart star* is the dog-star, Sirius ardens, burning and drying up things, and making them look black and swarthy. But he *sparely looks* on these valleys, as he approaches not Horace's fountain of Blandusia, Od. iii. xii. 9.

Throw hither all your quaint enamell'd eyes,  
 That on the green turf suck the honied showers, 140  
 And purple all the ground with vernal flowers.  
 Bring the rathe primrose that forsaken dies,

*Te flagrantis atrox hora caniculæ  
 Nescit tangere.*—

In the Manuscript it was first *sparely*, then altered to *stintly*, and then to *sparely* again; and in the next line *Throw hither* was at first *Bring hither* &c.

138. *Swart* for *swarthy* is common in Shakespeare. The dog-star is so called by turning the effect into the cause. Compare B. and Fletcher's *Philaster*, act v. s. 1.

—whose still shades  
 The worthier beasts have made their  
 layers, and slept  
 Free from the *Sirion star*.

T. Warton.

139. The term *cyes* is technical in the botany of flowers.  
*T. Warton.*

142. *Bring the rathe primrose* &c.] The primrose, being an early flower, is at first very acceptable, and being a lasting flower, it continues till it is put out of countenance by those which are more beautiful, and so *dies forsaken* and neglected.  
*Jortin.*

The flowers here selected are either peculiar to mourning, or early flowers, suited to the age of *Lycidas*. The *rathe primrose* is the *early* primrose, as the word is used in Spenser, *Faery Queen*, b. iii. cant. 3. st. 28.

*Too rathe* cut off by practice criminal;  
 December Shepherd's Cal.

*Thus in my harvest hasten'd all too  
 rathe.*

The *rather* lambs in February are the *earlier* lambs.

The *rather* lambs been starved with cold.

And we still use *rather* for *sooner*. *That forsaken dies*, imitated from Shakespeare, *Winter's Tale*, act iv. s. 5.

—pale primroses,  
 That die unmarried, &c.

Milton had at first written *unwedded* instead of *forsaken*. The whole was thus,

—that *unwedded* dics  
*Colouring the pale cheek of nuenjoy'd love;*

which was a closer copy of his original in Shakespeare,

—pale primroses  
 That die unmarried, e'er they can  
 behold  
 Bright Phœbus in his strength, a  
 malady  
 Most incident to maids.

And then followed these lines in Milton's Manuscript,

And that sad flow'r that strove  
 To write his own woes on the ver-  
 meil grain;  
 Next add *Narcissus* that still weeps  
 in vain,  
 The woodbine, and the pansy freak't  
 with jet,  
 The glowing violet,  
 The cowslip wan that hangs his pen-  
 sive head,  
 And every bud that sorrow's livery  
 wears,  
 Let daffadillies fill their cups with  
 tears,  
 Bid *amarantus* all his beauty shed,  
 &c.

But he altered them in the Ma-

The tufted crow-toe, and pale jessamine,  
 The white pink, and the pansy freakt with jet,  
 The glowing violet, 145  
 The musk-rose, and the well-attir'd woodbine,  
 With cowslips wan that hang the pensive head,  
 And every flower that sad embroidery wears :  
 Bid amarantus all his beauty shed,  
 And daffadillies fill their cups with tears, 150  
 To strow the laureate herse where Lycid lies.  
 For so to interpose a little ease,  
 Let our frail thoughts dally with false surmise.

nuscript, as they now stand in the printed copies; and for the *garish columbine* he substituted *the well-attired woodbine*; and for *sad escutcheon wears, sad embroidery wears*.

142. The particular combination of "Rathe primrose" is perhaps from a Pastoral called a *Palinode* by E. B. probably Edmond Bolton, in England's Helicon, edit. 1614.

And made the *rathe* and timely *primrose* grow.

T. Warton.

143. *The tufted crow-toe*,] This is the hyacinth, *that sanguine flower inscribed with woe*, as above. Richardson.

An undoubted imitation of Spenser, in April.

Bring hither the pink, and purple  
 'cullumbine,

With gilliflowres;

Bring coronations, and sops in wine,  
 Worne of paramours:

Strowe me the ground with daffa-  
 downdillies,

And cowslips, and kingcups, and  
 loved lillies;

The prettie pawnee,

And the chevisawnce,

Shall match with the faire flowre  
 delice.

Bowle.

144. —and the *pansy freakt with jet*] Mr. Meadowcourt proposes to read *streakt with jet*, which is a more usual word: but *freakt* is the word in Milton's Manuscript as well as in all the editions, and I suppose he meant the same as *freckled* or *spotted*.

152. *For so to interpose a little ease,*

*Let our frail thoughts dally with false surmise.*]

This is extremely tender and natural. He had said,

—the laureate herse where *Lycid lies*.

For so, says he, let us endeavour for a moment to deceive ourselves, and fancy that at least his *corpse* is present.

*Aye me! Whilst thee the shores,  
 and sounding seas*

*Wash far away &c.*

—*jacet ipse procul, qua mixta supremum*

*Ismenon primi mutant confinia ponti,*

says Statius of young Crenæus killed fighting in the river Ismenos, ix. 358. Richardson.

153. *Let our frail thoughts*] Altered in the Manuscript from *Let our sad thoughts*.

Aye me! Whilst thee the shores, and sounding seas  
 Wash far away, where'er thy bones are hurl'd, 155  
 Whether beyond the stormy Hebrides,  
 Where thou perhaps under the whelming tide  
 Visit'st the bottom of the monstrous world;  
 O whether thou to our moist vows denied,  
 Sleep'st by the fable of Bellerus old, 160

153. —[with false surmise.] The proper sense of the passage requires a semicolon after *surmise*; and it appears in the edition of 1638. The second edition, of 1645, evidently from an oversight, has a full point after *surmise*, which has been implicitly continued ever since. T. Warton.

154. *Whilst thee the shores,*] Altered in the Manuscript from *floods*. But Mr. Jortin says *shores* is improper, and fancies it should be *shoals*, the shallow waters, *brevia*. In the Mask 115, *The sounds and seas*—the sounds, freta. If Milton wrote *shores*, he perhaps had in his mind this passage of Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 362. where Palinurus, who, like Lycidas, had perished in the sea, says,

*Nunc me fluctus habet, verantique in  
 litore venti.*

On which line Pierius observes, *Litus non tam de sicco, quàm de asperginibus et extrema maris ora, intelligitur*. But yet, though a dead body may be said to be washed on the shore by the returning tides, the shore can hardly be said to wash the body; and the expression is harsh and uncouth.

—whilst thee the sounding seas  
 Wash far away, &c.

*Far away*, that is, in some remote place, whatsoever it be. He

seems rather to mean in some place, than to some place.

156. *Whether beyond &c.*] Whether thy body is carried northwards or southwards.

*Whether beyond the stormy Hebrides,*  
 the western islands of Scotland,

*Where thou perhaps under the whelming tide,*

it is *humming tide* in Milton's Manuscript,

*Visit'st the bottom of the monstrous world.*

Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 729.

*Et quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub  
 æquore pontus.*

So classical is Milton in every part of this poem.

156. See On the death of a fair Infant, note, v. 38. E.

158. —[*monstrous world.*] The sea, the world of monsters, Horace, *Od.* i. iii. 18. *Qui siccis oculis monstra natantia*. Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 729. *Quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub æquore pontus*. T. Warton.

159. —[*moist vows*] Our vows accompanied with tears. As if he had said *vota lachrymosa*. T. Warton.

160. *Sleep'st by the fable of Bellerus old, &c.*] Milton doubting which way the waves might carry the body of Lycidas, drowned in the Irish sea, imagines it was either driven north-



Where the great vision of the guarded mount  
Looks tow'ard Namancos and Bayona's hold ;

ward beyond the Hebrides, or else so far southward as to lie sleeping near the fable, or fabulous mansions of old Bellerus, where the great vision of the guarded mount looks towards the coast of Spain. But where can we find the place which is thus obscurely described in the language of poetry and fiction? The place here meant is probably a promontory in Cornwall, known at present by the name of the Land's End, and called by Diodorus Siculus *Belierium promontorium*, perhaps from *Bellerus* one of the Cornish giants, with which that country and the poems of old British bards were once filled. A watch-tower and light-house formerly stood on this promontory, and looked, as Orosius says, towards another high tower at Brigantia in Gallicia, and consequently toward *Bayona's hold*. See Orosius and Camden, who concludes his account of this part of Cornwall with saying, that no other place in this island looks directly to Spain. *Meadow-court*.

It may be farther observed, that Milton in his Manuscript had written *Corineus*, and afterwards changed it for *Bellerus*. *Corineus* came into this island with Brute, and had that part of the country assigned for his share, which after him was named *Cornwall*. "To *Corineus*, says "Milton in the first book of his "History of England, Cornwall, "as we now call it, fell by lot ; "the rather by him liked, for "that the hugest giants in rocks "and caves were said to lurk

"still there ; which kind of monsters to deal with was his old "exercise." Of this race of giants, we may suppose, was *Bellerus* : but whoever he was, the alteration in Milton's Manuscript was certainly for the better, to take a person from whom that particular promontory was denominated, rather than one who gave name to the county at large. The fable of *Bellerus* and the vision of the guarded mount is plainly taken from some of our old romances, but we may perceive what place is intended, the Land's End, and St. Michael's mount in Cornwall.

160. So Drayton, Polyolb. s. xxiii.

Then Cornwall creepeth out into the  
westernne maine,  
As, lying in her eye, she pointed still  
at Spaine.

But what is the meaning of "The Great Vision of the Guard-  
ed Mount?" And of the line immediately following, "Look  
homeward angel now, and melt  
with ruth?" I flatter myself I have discovered Milton's original and leading idea.

Not far from the Land's End in Cornwall, is a most romantic projection of rock, called *Saint Michael's Mount*, into a harbour called *Mounts-bay*. It gradually rises from a broad basis into a very steep and narrow, but craggy, elevation. Towards the sea, the declivity is almost perpendicular. At low water it is accessible by land : and not many years ago, it was entirely joined with the present shore, between which and the *Mount*,

Look homeward Angel now, and melt with ruth:  
And, O ye Dolphins, waft the hapless youth.

there is a rock called *Chapel-rock*. On the summit of *Saint Michael's Mount* a monastery was founded before the time of Edward the Confessor, now a seat of Sir John Saint Aubyn. The church, refectory, and many of the apartments, still remain. With this monastery was incorporated a strong fortress, regularly garrisoned: and in a Patent of Henry the Fourth, dated 1403, the monastery itself, which was ordered to be repaired, is styled *Fortalium*. Rym. Fœd. viii. 102, 340, 341. A stone-lantern, in one of the angles of the Tower of the church, is called *Saint Michael's Chair*. But this is not the original *Saint Michael's Chair*. We are told by Carew, in his Survey of Cornwall, "A little without the Castle [this fortress] there is a bad [dangerous] seat in a craggy place, called Saint Michael's Chaire, somewhat dangerous for accesse, and therefore holy for the adventure." Edit. 1602, p. 154. We learn from Caxton's Golden Legende, under the history of the angel Michael, that "Th' apparacyon of this anghell is manyfold. The fyrst is when he appeared in monnt of Gargan, &c." Edit. 1493. fol. cclxxxii. a. William of Worcestre, who wrote his travels over England about 1490, says in describing *Saint Michael's Mount*, there was an "Apparicio Sancti Michaelis in monte Tumba antea vocato *Le Hore Rok in the wodd*." Itinerar. edit. Cantab. 1778. p. 102. The *Hoar Rock in the Wood* is this Mount or Rock of Saint

Michael, anciently covered with thick wood, as we learn from Drayton and Carew. There is still a tradition, that a vision of Saint Michael seated on this Crag, or Saint Michael's chair, appeared to some hermits: and that this circumstance occasioned the foundation of the monastery dedicated to Saint Michael. And hence this place was long renowned for its sanctity, and the object of frequent pilgrimages. Carew quotes some old rhymes much to our purpose, p. 154. ut supr.

Who knows not Mighel's Mount and  
Chaire,  
The pilgrim's holy vaunt?

Nor should it be forgot, that this monastery was a cell to another on a Saint Michael's Mount in Normandy, where was also a Vision of Saint Michael.

But to apply what has been said to Milton. This *Great Vision* is the famous Apparition of Saint Michael, whom he with much sublimity of imagination supposes to be still throned on this lofty crag of *Saint Michael's Mount* in Cornwall, looking towards the Spanish coast. The guarded mount on which this Great Vision appeared, is simply the fortified Mount, implying the fortress above mentioned. And let us observe, that *Mount* is the peculiar appropriated appellation of this promontory. So in Daniel's Panegyricke on the King, st. 19. "From Dover to the mount." With the sense and meaning of the line in question, is immediately connected that of the third line next following, which here I

Weep no more, woful shepherds, weep no more, 165  
For Lycidas your sorrow is not dead,

now for the first time exhibit  
properly pointed.

Look homeward, Angel, now, and  
melt with ruth.

Here is an apostrophe to the Angel Michael, whom we have just seen seated on the Guarded Mount. "O Angel, look no longer seaward to Namancos and Bayona's hold: rather turn your eyes to another object. Look homeward, or landward, look towards your own coast now, and view with pity the corpse of the shipwrecked Lycidas floating thither." But I will exhibit the three lines together which from the context. Lycidas was lost on the seas near the coast,

Where the great vision of the  
guarded mount

Looks toward Namancos and Bay-  
ona's hold;

Look homeward, Angel, now, and  
melt with ruth.

The Great Vision and the Angel are the same thing: and the verb *look* in both the two last verses has the same reference. The poet could not mean to shift the application of *look*, within two lines. Moreover if in the words *Look homeward angel now*—the address is to Lycidas, as Mr. Thyer supposed, a violent, and too sudden, an apostrophe takes place; for in the very next line Lycidas is distinctly called the *hapless youth*. To say nothing, that this new angel is a *hapless youth*, and to be *wafted by dolphins*. T. Warton.

163. —and melt with ruth:]  
With pity. Spenser, Faery Queen,  
b. i. cant. vi. st. 12.

Are won with pity and unwonted  
ruth.

Fairfax, cant. ii. st. 11.

All ruth, compassion, mercy he  
forgot.

164. And, O ye dolphins, waft  
the hapless youth] Alluding to  
what Pausanias says of Palemon  
toward the end of his Attics,  
"that a dolphin took him up,  
"and laid his body on the shore  
"at Corinth where he was  
"deified." Richardson.

165. Weep no more, &c.] Mil-  
ton in this sudden and beautiful  
transition from the gloomy and  
mournful strain into that of hope  
and comfort seems pretty plainly  
to imitate Spenser in his 11th  
Eclogue, where bewailing the  
death of some maiden of great  
blood, whom he calleth Dido,  
in terms of the utmost grief and  
dejection, he breaks out all at  
once in the same manner. Thyer.

165. Spenser's November, Ecl.  
xi.

Cease now my Muse, now cease thy  
sorrows source!

She reigns a goddess now amid the  
saints,

That whilom was the saint of shep-  
herds light;

And is enstalled now in heavens  
hight.—

No danger there the shepherd can  
astert,

Fayre fields and pleasant leas there  
beene,

The fields aye fresh, the groves aye  
greene.—

There lives she with the blessed gods  
in blisse,

There drinks she nectar with ambro-  
sia mixt, &c.

See the Epitaphium Damonis,  
v. 201—218. and Ode on the  
Death of a fair Infant, st. x. T.  
Warton.

Sunk though he be beneath the wat'ry floor ;  
 So sinks the day-star in the ocean bed,  
 And yet anon repairs his drooping head,  
 And tricks his beams, and with new spangled ore 170  
 Flames in the forehead of the morning sky :  
 So Lycidas sunk low, but mounted high,  
 Through the dear might of him that walk'd the waves,  
 Where other groves and other streams along,  
 With nectar pure his oozy locks he laves, 175  
 And hears the unexpressive nuptial song,

166. —is not dead, &c.] See Ode on the Death of a fair Infant, v. 29. note. E.

168. *So sinks the day-star*] The thought of a star's being washed in the ocean, and thence shining brighter, is frequent among the ancient poets: and at the first reading I conceived that Milton meant the morning star, alluding to Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 589.

Qualis ubi oceani perfusus Lucifer unda &c.

but upon farther consideration I rather think that he means the sun, whom in the same manner he calls the *diurnal star* in the *Paradise Lost*, x. 1069: and Homer, if the hymn to Apollo be his, compares Apollo to a star in mid-day, ver. 441.

Αστρον ἡλιμνιον μετὰ νημεν.

168. Compare Gray's *Bard*.

—Hath quench'd the orb of day ?  
 To-morrow he repairs the golden flood.  
 T. Warton.

172. *Through the dear might of him that walk'd the waves,*] A designation of our Saviour by a miracle which bears an imme-

diate reference to the subject of the poem. T. Warton.

174. *Where other groves and other streams along,*] Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 641.

—solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.

And Ariosto, cant. xxxiv. st. 72.

There other rivers stream, smile  
 other fields  
 Than here with us, and other plains  
 are stretch'd,  
 Sink other valleys, other mountains  
 rise. &c.

175. *With nectar pure his oozy locks he laves,*] Like Apollo in Horace, *Od.* iii. iv. 61.

Qui rore puro Castaliæ lavit  
 Crines solutos.

176. *And hears the unexpressive nuptial song,*] In the Manuscript it was at first *List'ning the unexpressive* &c. This is the song in the Revelation, which no man could learn but they who were not defiled with women, and were virgins: Rev. xiv. 3, 4. The author had used the word *unexpressive* in the same manner before in his Hymn on the Nativity, st. 11.

Harping in loud and solemn quire  
 With *unexpressive* notes to heav'n's  
 new-born heir.

POEMS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. 163

In the blest kingdoms meek of joy and love.  
 There entertain him all the saints above,  
 In solemn troops, and sweet societies,  
 That sing, and singing in their glory move, 180  
 And wipe the tears for ever from his eyes.  
 Now, Lycidas, the shepherds weep no more;  
 Henceforth thou art the genius of the shore,  
 In thy large recompense, and shalt be good  
 To all that wander in that perilous flood. 185  
 Thus sang the uncouth swain to th' oaks and rills;

Nor are parallel instances wanting in Shakespeare. As you like it, act iii. s. 2.

The fair, the chaste, and unexpressive she.

And in like manner *insuppressive* is used for *not to be suppressed*. Julius Cæsar, act ii. s. 2.

Nor th' *insuppressive* mettle of our spirits.

176. So in the Latin poem, *Ad Patrem*, v. 37.

Immortale melos, et inenarrabile carmen.

T. Warton.

177. *In the blest kingdoms meek of joy and love.*] That is, in the blest kingdoms of meek joy and love; a transposition of the adjective, which we meet with also in the *Paradise Lost*, ix. 518.

So spake domestic Adam in his care, in which verse *domestic* is without doubt to be joined to *care*, and not to *Adam*, as the common opinion is. So also in the same book, ver. 225.

—and th' hour of supper comes unearn'd.

Thyer.

179. *In solemn troops, and sweet societies,*] Compare *Par. Lost*, xi. 82.

By the waters of life where'er they sate  
 In fellowships of joy, the sons of light,  
 &c.

T. Warton.

183. *Henceforth thou art the genius of the shore,*] This is said in allusion to the story of Melicerta, or Palæmon, who with his mother Ino was drowned, and became a sea-deity propitious to mariners. Ovid, *Met.* iv. Fast. vi. Virgil, *Georg.* i. 436.

Votaque servati solvent in littore  
 nautæ  
 Glaucos, et Panopem, et Inoo Melicertæ.

And as Mr. Jortin observes, it is pleasant to see how the most antipapistical poets are inclined to canonize and then to invoke their friends as saints. See the poem on the fair Infant, st. 10.

184. —and shalt be good &c.] The same compliment that Virgil pays to his Daphnis, *Ecl.* v. 64.

—Deus, deus ille, Menalca.  
 Sis bonus ô felixque tuis! &c.

Thyer.

While the still morn went out with sandals gray,  
 He touch'd the tender stops of various quills,  
 With eager thought warbling his Doric lay:  
 And now the sun had stretch'd out all the hills, 190

188. *He touch'd the tender stops of various quills,*] By *stops* he means not such *stops* as belong to the organ, but what we now call the *holes* of any species of pipe or flute. Thus Browne, *Britan. Past. b. ii. s. 3.*

What musick is there in a shepherd's quill,

If but a *stop* or two therein we spie?

And Drayton, *Mus. Elys.*

Teaching every *stop* and *key*,  
 To those that on the pipe do play.

So in *Hamlet*, where the *Players enter with the Recorders*, "Govern these ventages with your finger and thumb:—look you, these are the *stops*." T. Warton.

189. *With eager thought warbling his Doric lay:*] He calls it *Doric lay*, because it imitates Theocritus and other pastoral poets, who wrote in the *Doric* dialect. Though Milton calls himself as yet *uncouth*, he warbles with eager thought his *Doric lay*; earnest of the poet he was to be, at least; as he promises in the motto to these juvenile poems of edit. 1645.

—baccare frontem

Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.

This looks very modest, but see what he insinuates. The first part of Virgil's verse is,

*Aut si ultra placitum laudaret baccare frontem &c.*

Richardson.

See note on v. 2. This is a *Doric lay*, because Theocritus

and Moschus had respectively written a bucolic on the deaths of Daphnis and Bion. And the name *Lycidas*, now first imported into English pastoral, was adopted, not from Virgil, but from Theocritus, *Idyll. vii. 27.*

—ΔΙΚΙΔΑ φίλε, θάρτε εν πάσῃ  
 Ἑρμῆς ΣΤΡΙΚΤΑΝ μὲν' ὀνείρεσσαν, ἵππε  
 νειώσῃ,  
 Ἐς δ' ἀμνηστέρων.

His character is afterwards fully justified in the Song of *Lycidas*. And he is styled "dear to the Muses," v. 95. And our author's shepherd *Lycidas* could "build the lofty rhyme." A *Lycidas* is again mentioned by Theocritus, *Idyll. xxvii. 41.* And a *Lycidas* supports a Sicilian dialogue in one of Bion's *Bucolics*, vii. See *Epitaph. Damon. v. 132.* T. Warton.

190. *And now the sun had stretch'd out all the hills,*] He had no doubt Virgil in his eye, *Ecl. i. 83.*

*Et jam summa procul villarum culmina fumant,  
 Majoresque cadunt altis de montibus umbræ.*

Virgil's is an admirable description of a rural evening, but I know not whether Milton's is not better, as it represents the sun setting so by degrees,

And now the sun had stretch'd out all the hills,

And now was dropp'd into the western bay:

though it must be said that the image of the smoke ascending

And now was dropp'd into the western bay;  
At last he rose, and twitch'd his mantle blue:  
To-morrow to fresh woods, and pastures new.

from the village-chimneys, which Milton has omitted, is very natural and beautiful.

190. But Milton, if he had this passage of Virgil in his eye, judiciously omitted the image which Dr. Newton praises, as it was unsuitable to the solitary scene, "the oaks and rills," which he describes. E.

193. *To-morrow to fresh woods and pastures new.*] Theocritus, Idyll. i. 145.

Καί ποτ' ὅτε δ' ἄρουρ καὶ ἰσὺς ἄρουρ  
ἄρουρ γὰρ.

Jortin.

193. So Pbineas Fletcher, *Purple Isl.* c. vi. st. 77.

To-morrow shall ye feast in pastures  
new,  
And with the rising sunne banquet  
on pearled dew.

T. Warton.

Mr. Richardson conceives, that by this last verse the poet says (pastorally) that he is hastening to, and eager on new works: but I rather believe that it was said in allusion to his travels into Italy, which he was now meditating, and on which he set out the spring following. I will conclude my remarks upon this poem with the just observation of Mr. Thyer. The particular beauties of this charming pastoral are too striking to need much descanting upon; but what gives the greatest grace to the whole is that natural and agreeable wildness and irregularity which runs quite through it, than which nothing could be better suited

to express the warm affection which Milton had for his friend, and the extreme grief he was in for the loss of him. Grief is eloquent, but not formal.

It must be owned, however, that grief is not so learned as is this poem, nor does it incline the heart to bitter sarcasms upon persons little, if at all, connected with the subject of sorrow. E.

I see no extraordinary wildness and irregularity, according to Dr. Newton, in the conduct of this little poem. It is true there is a very original air in it, although it be full of classical imitations: but this, I think, is owing, not to any disorder in the plan, nor entirely to the vigour and lustre of the expression, but, in a good degree, to the looseness and variety of the metre. Milton's ear was a good second to his imagination. Hurd.

Addison says, that he who desires to know whether he has a true taste for history or not, should consider, whether he is pleased with Livy's manner of telling a story; so, perhaps, it may be said, that he who wishes to know whether he has a true taste for poetry or not, should consider whether he is highly delighted or not with the perusal of Milton's *Lycidas*. If I might venture to place Milton's Works, according to their degrees of poetic excellence, it should be perhaps in the following order; *Paradise Lost*, *Comus*, *Samson Agonistes*, *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*. The three last are

in such an exquisite strain, says Fenton, that though he had left no other monuments of his genius behind him, his name had been immortal. *Dr. J. Warton.*

[Mr. Dunster hopes that Paradise Regained "*slipped accidentally* out of this list." Mr. Todd gives a note of Dr. Warton's on P. R. i. 44. which shews at least that he rated the Par. Reg. very highly. E.]

Doctor Johnson observes, that Lycidas is filled with the heathen deities; and a long train of mythological imagery, such as a College easily supplies. But it is such also, as even the Court itself could now have easily supplied. The public diversions, and books of all sorts and from all sorts of writers, more especially compositions in poetry, were at this time overrun with classical pedantries. But what writer, of the same period, has made these obsolete fictions the vehicle of so much fancy and poetical description? How beautifully has he applied this sort of allusion, to the Druidical rocks of Denbighshire, to Mona, and the fabulous banks of Devn! It is objected, that its pastoral form is disgusting. But this was the age of pastoral: and yet Lycidas has but little of the bucolic cant, now so fashionable. The Satyrs and Fauns are but just mentioned. If any trite rural topics occur, how are they heightened!

Together both, ere the high lawns  
appear'd

Under the opening eyelids of the morn,  
We drove afield, and both together  
heard

What time the gray-fly winds her  
sultry horn,

Batt'ning our flocks with the fresh  
dews of night.

Here the day-break is described by the faint appearance of the upland lawns under the first gleams of light: the sun-set by the buzzing of the chaffer: and the night sheds her *fresh dews* on their flocks. We cannot blame pastoral imagery, and pastoral allegory, which carry with them so much natural painting. In this piece there is perhaps more poetry than sorrow. But let us read it for its poetry. It is true, that passion plucks no berries from the myrtle and ivy, nor calls upon Arethuse and Mincius, nor tells of *rough Satyrs with cloven heel*. But poetry does this; and in the hands of Milton, does it with a peculiar and irresistible charm. Subordinate poets exercise no invention, when they tell how a shepherd has lost his companion, and must feed his flocks alone, without any judge of his skill in piping: but Milton dignifies and adorns these common artificial incidents with unexpected touches of picturesque beauty, with the graces of sentiment, and with the novelties of original genius. It is objected "here is no art, for there "is nothing new." To say nothing that there may be art without novelty, as well as novelty without art, I must reply, that this objection will vanish, if we consider the imagery which Milton has raised from local circumstances. Not to repeat the use he has made of the mountains of Wales, the isle of Man, and the river Dee, near which Lycidas was shipwrecked; let us recollect the introduction of the romantic superstition of St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, which overlooks the Irish seas,



the fatal scene of his friend's disaster.

But the poetry is not always unconnected with passion. The poet lavishly describes an ancient sepulchral rite, but it is made preparatory to a stroke of tenderness. He calls for a variety of flowers to decorate his friend's hearse, supposing that his body was present, and forgetting for a while that it was floating far off in the ocean. If he was drowned, it was some consolation that he was to receive the decencies of burial. This is a pleasing deception: it is natural and pathetic. But the real catastrophe recurs. And this circumstance again opens a new vein of imagination.

Dr. Johnson censures Milton for his allegorical mode of telling that he and Lycidas studied together, under the fictitious images of rural employments, in which, he says, there can be no tenderness; and prefers Cowley's lamentation of the loss of Harvey, the companion of his labours, and the partner of his discoveries. I know not if, in this similarity of subject, Cowley has more tenderness; I am sure he has less poetry. I will allow that he has more wit, and more smart similies. The sense of our author's allegory on this occasion is obvious, and is just as intelligible as if he had used plain terms. It is a fiction, that when Lycidas died, the woods and caves were deserted and overgrown with wild thyme and luxuriant vines, and that all their echoes mourned; and that the green copses no longer waved their joyous leaves to his soft strains: but we cannot here be

at a loss for a meaning, a meaning which is as clearly perceived, as it is elegantly represented. This is the sympathy of a true poet. We know that Milton and King were not *nursed on the same hill*; that they did not *feed the same flock, by fountain, shade, or rill*; and that *rough Satyrs and Fauns with cloven heel* never danced to their *rural ditties*. But who hesitates a moment for the application? Nor are such ideas more untrue, certainly not less far-fetched and unnatural, than when Cowley says, that he and Harvey studied together every night with such unremitted diligence, that the twin-stars of Leda, so *famed for love*, looked down upon the twin-students with wonder *from above*. And where is the tenderness, when he wishes, that, on the melancholy event, the branches of the trees at Cambridge, under which they walked, would *combine themselves into a darker umbrage, dark as the grave* in which his departed friend was newly laid?

Our author has also been censured for mixing religious disputes with pagan and pastoral ideas. But he had the authority of Mantuan and Spenser, now considered as models in this way of writing. Let me add, that our poetry was not yet purged from its Gothic combinations; nor had legitimate notions of discrimination and propriety so far prevailed, as sufficiently to influence the growing improvements of English composition. These irregularities and incongruities must not be tried by modern criticism.

## XVIII.

*The Fifth Ode of Horace, Lib. I.*

Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa, rendered almost word for word without rhyme, according to the Latin measure, as near as the language will permit.

WHAT slender youth bedew'd with liquid odours  
Courts thee on roses in some pleasant cave,  
    Pyrrha? for whom bind'st thou  
    In wreaths thy golden hair,  
Plain in thy neatness? O how oft shall he

5

This Ode was first added in the second edition of the author's poems in 1673.

1. *What slender youth*] In this measure, my friend and school-fellow Mr. William Collins wrote his admired Ode to Evening; and I know he had a design of writing many more Odes without rhyme. In this measure also, an elegant Ode was written on the *Paradise Lost*, by the late Captain Thomas, formerly a Student of Christ Church, Oxford, at the time that Mr. Benson gave medals as prizes for the best verses that were produced on Milton at all our great schools. It seems to be an agreed point, that Lyric poetry cannot exist without rhyme in our language. Some of the Trochaics, in Glover's *Medea*, are harmonious, however, without rhyme. *Dr. J. Warton.*

Dr. J. Warton might have added, that his own Ode to Evening was written before that of his friend Collins; as was a Poem of his, entitled the As-

sembly of the Passions, before Collins's favourite Ode on that subject.

There are extant two excellent Odes, of the truest taste, written in unrhyming metre many years ago by two of the students of Christ Church, Oxford, and among its chief ornaments, since high in the church. One is on the death of Mr. Langton, who died on his travels, by the late Dr. Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph: the other, by the present Archbishop of York, is addressed to George Onslow, Esquire, the Speaker. But it may be doubted, whether there is sufficient precision and elegance in the English language without rhyme. In England's Helicon, there is *Ænone's complaint in blank verse*, by George Peele, written about 1590. The verses indeed are heroic, but the whole consists of quatrains. *T. Warton.*

5. *Plain in thy neatness?*] Rather "*plain in your ornaments.*" Milton mistakes the

On faith and changed Gods complain, and seas  
 Rough with black winds and storms  
 Unwonted shall admire !  
 Who now enjoys thee credulous, all gold,  
 Who always vacant always amiable 10  
 Hopes thee, of flattering gales  
 Unmindful. Hapless they  
 To whom thou untried seem'st fair. Me in my vow'd  
 Picture the sacred wall declares t' have hung  
 My dank and dropping weeds 15  
 To the stern God of sea.

*Ad Pyrrham. Ode V.*

Horatius ex Pyrrhæ illecebris tanquam e naufragio enataverat,  
 cujus amore irretitos, affirmat esse miseros.

QUIS multa gracilis te puer in rosa  
 Perfusus liquidis urget odoribus,  
 Grato, Pyrrha, sub antro ?  
 Cui flavam religas comam  
 Simplex munditiis ? heu quoties fidem 5  
 Mutatosque deos flebit, et aspera  
 Nigris æquora ventis  
 Emirabitur insolens !  
 Qui nunc te fruitur credulus aurea,

idiomatical use of *munditiæ*. She "whom do you, who study no  
 was plain in her dress, or in the "ornaments of dress, thus unaf-  
 manner of adorning herself. The "fectedly bind up your yellow  
 sense of the context is, "For "locks?" T. Warton.

Qui semper vacuam semper amabilem  
     Sperat, nescius auræ  
     Fallacis. Miseri quibus  
 Intentata nites. Me tabula sacer  
 Votiva paries indicat uvida  
     Suspendisse potenti  
     Vestimenta maris Deo.

## FRAGMENTS OF TRANSLATIONS\*.

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH\*.

*BRUTUS thus addresses DIANA in the country of LEOGECIA.*

GODDESS of shades, and huntress, who at will  
 Walk'st on the rowling† spheres, and through the  
     deep;  
 On thy third reign the earth look now, and tell  
 What land, what seat of rest, thou bidd'st me seek,  
 What certain seat, where I may worship thee  
 For aye, with temples vow'd, and virgin quires.

*To whom, sleeping before the altar, DIANA answers in a vision  
     the same night.*

Brutus, far to the west, in th' ocean wide,  
 Beyond the realm of Gaul, a land there lies,

\* These fragments of translations, taken from various parts of Milton's Prose Works, I insert from Mr. Warton's edition; omitting, however, those from Milton's *Defensio*, which Mr. Warton adopts from preceding editions, but which he himself

states to be the work, not of Milton, but of Washington the Translator of the *Defensio*. See the following note *b. E.*

\* Hist. Brit. i. xi. "Diva potens nemorum, &c."

† Tickell and Fenton read *lowring*.

Sea-girt it lies, where giants dwelt of old,  
Now void, it fits thy people: thither bend  
Thy course, there shalt thou find a lasting seat;  
There to thy sons another Troy shall rise,  
And kings be born of thee, whose dreadful might  
Shall awe the world, and conquer nations bold.<sup>b</sup>

DANTE.<sup>c</sup>

Ah Constantine, of how much ill was cause,  
Not thy conversion, but those rich domains  
That the first wealthy pope receiv'd of thee.<sup>d</sup>

DANTE.<sup>e</sup>

Founded in chaste and humble poverty,  
'Gainst them that rais'd thee dost thou lift thy horn,  
Impudent whore, where hast thou plac'd thy hope?  
In thy adulterers, or thy ill-got wealth?  
Another Constantine comes not in haste.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>b</sup> From Milton's *Hist. Engl.* b. i. Pr. W. ii. 5. These Fragments of translation were collected by Tickell from Milton's *Prose Works*. More are here added. But those taken from the *Defensio* are not Milton's, but are in Richard Washington's Translation of the *Defensio* into English. Tickell, supposing that Milton translated his own Latin *Defensio* into English, has inserted them among these fragments of Translations as the productions of Milton. Birch has reprinted Richard Washington's translation, which appeared in 1692, 8vo. among our author's

*Prose Works.* T. Warton.

<sup>c</sup> *Infern.* c. xix. See Hoole's *Ariosto*, b. xvii. v. 552. vol. ii. p. 271.

<sup>d</sup> From *Of Reformation in England*, *Prose Works*, vol. i. p. 10.

<sup>e</sup> *Parad.* c. xx. So say Tickell and Fenton, from Milton himself. But the sentiment only is in Dante. The translation is from Petrarch, *Sonn.* 108. "Fun-  
" data in casta et humili pover-  
" tate, &c." Expunged in some editions of Petrarch for obvious reasons. T. Warton.

<sup>f</sup> From *Of Reformation*, &c. *Prose Works*, vol. i. p. 10.

ARIOSTO.<sup>f</sup>

Then past he to a flow'ry mountain green,  
Which once smelt sweet, now stinks as odiously:  
This was the gift, if you the truth will have,  
That Constantine to good Sylvester gave.<sup>h</sup>

HORACE.<sup>1</sup>

Whom do we count a good man? Whom but he  
Who keeps the laws and statutes of the senate,  
Who judges in great suits and controversies,  
Whose witness and opinion wins the cause?  
But his own house, and the whole neighbourhood,  
Sees his foul inside through his whited skin.<sup>k</sup>

EURIPIDES.<sup>1</sup>

This is true liberty, when freeborn men  
Having t' advise the public may speak free;  
Which he who can, and will, deserves high praise:  
Who neither can nor will, may hold his peace,  
What can be a juster in a state than this?<sup>m</sup>

HORACE.<sup>n</sup>

——— Laughing, to teach the truth,  
What hinders? As some teachers give to boys  
Junkets and knacks, that they may learn apace.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>f</sup> C. xxxiv. 80. Tickell and Fenton have added some lines from Harrington's version. *T. Warton.*

<sup>h</sup> From *Of Reformation*, &c. *Prose Works*, vol. i. p. 10.

<sup>1</sup> *Epist. i. xvi. 40.*

<sup>k</sup> From *Tetrachordon*, *Prose Works*, vol. i. 239.

<sup>1</sup> *IKETIA*, v. 440.

<sup>m</sup> Milton's Motto to his "*Areopagetica*, A Speech for the liberty of unlicensed Printing, &c." *Prose Works*, vol. i. 141.

<sup>n</sup> *Sat. i. i. 24.*

<sup>o</sup> From *Apol. Smectymn.* *Prose Works*, vol. i. 116.

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HORACE.<sup>p</sup>

—— Joking decides great things.  
Stronger and better oft than earnest can.<sup>q</sup>

SOPHOCLES.<sup>r</sup>

'Tis you that say it, not I. You do the deeds,  
And your ungodly deeds find me the words.<sup>s</sup>

SENECA.<sup>t</sup>

—— There can be slain  
No sacrifice to God more acceptable,  
Than an unjust and wicked king.<sup>u</sup>

<sup>p</sup> Sat. i. x. 14.

<sup>s</sup> From Apol. Smectymn. *ibid.*

<sup>q</sup> Apol. Smectymn. vol. i. p.  
116.

<sup>t</sup> Hercul. Fur.

<sup>u</sup> From Tenure of Kings, &c.  
Prose Works, vol. i. 315.

<sup>r</sup> Electra, v. 627.

## XIX.

*On the new forcers of conscience under the Long  
Parliament.*

BECAUSE you have thrown off your Prelate Lord,  
And with stiff vows renounc'd his Liturgy,  
To seize the widow'd whore Plurality  
From them whose sin ye envied, not abhorr'd,  
Dare ye for this adjure the civil sword 5  
To force our consciences that Christ set free,  
And ride us with a classic hierarchy

This copy of verses was first added in the second edition of the author's poems in 1673, and I suppose was made, when the Directory was established, and disputes ran high between the Presbyterians and Independents in the year 1645, the latter pleading for a toleration, and the former against it. And in the Manuscript it is not in Milton's own hand, but in another, the same that wrote some of the Sonnets.

1. *Because you have thrown off your Prelate Lord, &c.*] In railing at establishments, Milton not only condemned episcopacy. He thought even the simple institutions of the new reformation too rigid and arbitrary for the natural freedom of conscience. He contended for that sort of individual or personal religion, by which every man is to be his own priest. When these verses were written, which form an irregular sonnet, presbyterianism was triumphant: and the independents and the churchmen joined in one

common complaint against a want of toleration. The church of Calvin had now its heretics. *T. Warton.*

2. *And with stiff vows renounc'd his Liturgy,*] The Directory was enforced under severe penalties in 1644. The legislature prohibited the use of the Book of Common Prayer, not only in places of public worship, but in private families. *T. Warton.*

3. —*the widow'd whore*] In the Manuscript it was at first

—*the vacant whore.*

7. —*with a classic hierarchy*] In the Presbyterian form of government there were congregational, classical, provincial, and national assemblies. See what the author says in his *Observations on the Irish peace*, p. 356. vol. i. edit. 1738. "Their next impeachment is, that we oppose the Presbyterian government, the hedge and bulwark of religion. Which all the land knows to be a most impudent falsehood, having established it with all



Taught ye by mere A. S. and Rotherford?  
Men whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent

"freedom, wherever it hath  
"been desired. Nevertheless,  
"as we perceive it aspiring to  
"be a compulsive power upon  
"all without exception in pa-  
"rochial, classical, and provin-  
"cial hierarchies, or to require  
"the fleshly arm of magistracy  
"in the execution of a spiritual  
"discipline, to punish and amerce  
"by any corporal infliction those  
"whose consciences cannot be  
"edified by what authority they  
"are compelled, we hold it no  
"more to be *the hedge and bul-*  
"*wark of religion*, than the  
"Popish and Prelatical courts,  
"or the Spanish Inquisition."

8. *Taught ye by mere A. S. and Rotherford?*] The independ-  
ents were now contending for  
toleration. In 1643, their prin-  
cipal leaders published a pam-  
phlet with this title, "An Apo-  
logetically Narration of some  
"Ministers formerly exiles in  
"the Netherlands, now members  
"of the Assembly of Divines.  
"Humbly submitted to the ho-  
"nourable Houses of Parliament.  
"By Thomas Goodwyn, Sy-  
"drack Sympson, Philip Nye,  
"Jer. Burroughs, and William  
"Bridge, the authors thereof.  
"Lond. 1643." In quarto. Their  
system is a middle way between  
Brownism and presbytery. This  
piece was answered by one A. S.  
the person intended by Milton.  
"Some Observations and Anno-  
"tations upon the Apologetically  
"Narration, humbly submitted  
"to the honourable Houses of  
"Parliament, the most reverend  
"and learned divines of the As-  
"sembly, and all the protestant

"churches here in this island  
"and abroad. Lond. 1644." In  
quarto. The Dedication is sub-  
scribed A. S. The independents  
then retorted upon A. S. in a  
pamphlet called "A Reply of  
"the two Brothers to A. S.  
"Wherein you have Observa-  
"tions, Annotations, &c. upon  
"the Apologetically Narration.  
"With a plea for liberty of  
"conscience for the apologists  
"church-way: against the cavils  
"of the said A. S. formerly  
"called M. S. to A. S. &c. &c.  
"Lond. 1644." In quarto. I  
quote from the second edition  
enlarged. There is another piece  
by A. S. It is called a "Reply  
"to the second Return." This  
I have never seen. His name  
was never known.

Samuel Rutherford, or Ruther-  
ford, was one of the chief com-  
missioners of the church of Scot-  
land, who sat with the Assembly  
at Westminster, and who con-  
curred in settling the grand  
points of presbyterian discipline.  
He was professor of divinity in  
the university of Saint Andrew's,  
and has left a great variety of  
Calvinistic tracts. He was an  
avowed enemy to the independ-  
ents, as appears from his Dis-  
putation on pretended liberty of  
conscience, 1649. This was an-  
swered by John Cotton a Sepa-  
ratist of New England. It is  
hence easy to see, why Ruther-  
ford was an obnoxious character  
to Milton. Rutherford's Letters,  
called Joshua Redivivus, are a  
genuine specimen of the enthu-  
siastic cant of the old Scotch  
Divines. Their ninth edition

Would have been held in high esteem with Paul, 10  
 Must now be nam'd and printed Heretics  
 By shallow Edwards and Scotch what d'ye call:  
 But we do hope to find out all your tricks,  
 Your plots and packing worse than those of Trent,  
 That so the Parliament

appeared at Glasgow so late as in 1765. *T. Warton.*

12. *By shallow Edwards &c.]* In the Manuscript it was at first *harebrain'd Edwards*. He wrote the *Gangræna*, a book in which the errors, heresies, blasphemies, and lewd practice, which broke out in the last four years (1642, 1643, 1644, 1645,) are recited: see Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 855. Mr. Thyer gives this account of it, that it was published in 1646, and dedicated to the Parliament by Thomas Edwards, minister of the Gospel, and was intitled *Gangræna, or a Catalogue and Discovery of many of the errors, heresies, blasphemies, and pernicious practices of the Sectaries of this time, vented and acted in England in these four last years. Scotch what d'ye call* might be perhaps the famous *Alexander Henderson*, or as that expression implies some hard name, *George Gillespie*, a Scotch minister and commissioner at Westminster, called *Galaspe* in Whitlock, and *Galasp* in one of our author's Sonnets: and nothing could be expressed with greater contempt.

12. It is not the *Gangræna* of Thomas Edwards that is here the object of Milton's resentment. Edwards had attacked Milton's favourite plan of independency, in a pamphlet full of miserable invectives, immediately and pro-

fessedly levelled against the Apologeticall Narration above mentioned, and entitled, "Antapologia, or a full answer to the Apologeticall Narration, &c. Wherein is handled many of the Controversies of these times, by T. Edwards, Minister of the Gospel. Lond. 1644." In quarto. But Edwards had some time before published his opinions against congregational churches, "Reasons against the independent government of particular congregations: as also against the toleration of such churches to be erected in this kingdom. Together with an answer to such reasons as are commonly alledged for a toleration. Presented in all humility to the honourable House of Commons, &c. &c. By Thomas Edwards, &c. Lond. 1641." In quarto. However, in the *Gangræna*, not less than in these two tracts, it had been his business to blacken the opponents of presbyterian uniformity, that the Parliament might check their growth by penal statutes. Against such enemies, Milton's chief hope of enjoying a liberty of conscience, and a permission to be of any religion but popery, was in Cromwell, who for political reasons allowed all professions. See Sonn. xvi. 11. *T. Warton.*

14. *Your plots and packing*

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May with their wholesome and preventive shears 16  
 Clip your phylacteries, though baulk your ears,  
 And succour our just fears,  
 When they shall read this clearly in your charge,  
 New Presbyterian is but Old Priest writ large. 20

worse than those of Trent,] The famous Council of Trent. T. Warton.

17. *Clip your phylacteries, though baulk your ears,*] So we read as it is corrected in the table of errata in the edition of 1673: in all the editions it is falsely printed *bank your ears*. This line in the Manuscript was thus at first,

Crop ye as close as marginal P—— ears.

He means *Prynne*, who had been sentenced to lose his ears, and afterwards was sentenced to lose the remainder of them, so that he was *cropt close* indeed: and the reason of his calling him *marginal* is expressed in his treatise of *The likeliest Means to remove hirelings out of the Church*. "And yet a late hot querist for tithes, whom ye may know by his wit's lying ever beside him in the margin, to be ever beside his wits in the text; a fierce reformer once, now rankled with a contrary heat, &c." Vol. i. p. 569. edit. 1738.

17. *Clip your phylacteries, though baulk your ears,*] That is, although your ears cry out that they need clipping, yet the mild and gentle Parliament will content itself with only clipping away your Jewish and persecuting principles. Warburton.

The meaning is, "check your insolence, without proceeding to cruel punishments." To baulk is to spare. T. Warton.

20. *New Presbyterian is but Old Priest*] He expresses the same sentiment in other parts of his works. *Bishops and presbyters are the same to us both name and thing*, &c. See his *Speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing*, vol. i. p. 153. and the conclusion of his treatise, entitled, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*.

20. —writ large.] That is, more domineering and tyrannical. Warburton.

This is the sense implied, but certainly with the allusion, intimated by Dr. Newton, to the derivation of the word *Priest* by contraction from *Presbyter*. E.

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# SONNETS.

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## I.

### *To the Nightingale.*

O NIGHTINGALE, that on yon bloomy spray  
Warblest at eve, when all the woods are still,  
Thou with fresh hope the lover's heart dost fill,

The Sonnet is a species of poetry of Italian extraction, and the famous Petrarch hath gained the reputation of being the first author and inventor of it. He wrote a great number in commendation of his mistress Laura, with whom he was in love for twenty years together, and whose death he lamented with the same zeal for ten years afterwards: and for the tenderness and delicacy of his passion, as well as for the beauty and elegance of his sentiments and language, he is esteemed the great master of love-poetry among the moderns, and his Sonnets are universally allowed to be the standard and perfection of that kind of writing. The Sonnet, I think, consists generally of one thought, and that always turned in fourteen verses of the length of our heroics, two stanzas or measures of four verses each, and two of three, the first eight verses having no more than two rhymes: and herein it differs from the Canzone, which is not confined

to any number of stanzas or verses. [See note \*, p. 182. Canzone.] It is certainly one of the most difficult of all the lesser kinds of poetry, such simplicity and such correctness being required in the composition: and I have often wondered that the quaintness and exactness of the rhymes alone did not deter Milton from attempting it, but he was carried on by his love of the Italians and Italian poetry: and other celebrated writers have been equally fond of copying Petrarch, as Bellay, Ronsard, Malherb, &c. among the French; Sidney, Spenser, Shakespeare, &c. among the English; but none of them have conformed so exactly to the Italian model as Milton: and he is the last who excelled in this species of poetry, which was almost extinct among us, till it was revived of late with good success by an ingenious gentleman in Dodsley's *Miscellanies*.

1. *Guitone d'Arezzo*, who flourished about the year 1250,

While the jolly hours lead on propitious May.  
 Thy liquid notes that close the eye of day, 5  
 First heard before the shallow cuckow's bill,  
 Portend success in love; O if Jove's will  
 Have link'd that amorous pow'r to thy soft lay,

many years before Petrarch was born, first used the measure observed in the Sonnet; a measure, which the great number of similar terminations renders easy in the Italian, but difficult in our language. *Dr. J. Warton.*

*Dr. Johnson* remarks, that, for this reason, the fabric of the regular Sonnet has never succeeded in English. But surely Milton and others have shewn that this inconvenience may be surmounted, and excellence results from difficulty. *T. Warton.*

Of the two stanzas, into which the first eight lines of the Sonnet are to be distributed, the first verse chimes with the last, and the two intermediate ones with each other. The six concluding lines may either be confined within terminations of two similar sounds alternately arranged, or may be disposed, with two additional rhymes, into a quatrain and a couplet.

Milton has not always observed this arrangement of the terminations in the six concluding lines. See the Sonnets to Fairfax and to Cromwell. He seems to have regarded the order of this part of the sonnet as submitted in a great degree to his discretion. In the construction of the Sonnet Drummond seems to have been the peculiar object of Milton's applause and imitation. *Symmons.*

1. We have observed, P. L.

vii. 435. how fond our poet was of the nightingale, and this address to her is founded upon the same notion or tradition as Chaucer's verses of the cuckow and the nightingale.

But as I lay this other night waking,  
 I thought howe lovins had a tokning.  
 And amonge them it was a com-  
 moune tale,  
 That it were gode to here the  
 nightingale,  
 Moche rather than the leude cuckoo  
 sing &c.

4. *While the jolly hours lead on propitious May.*] Because the nightingale is supposed to begin singing in April. So Sydney, in England's Helicon, Signat. O. edit. 1614.

The nightingale, so soone as Aprill  
 bringeth  
 Unto her rested sense a perfect wak-  
 ing,  
 While late bare earth proud of new  
 elothing springeth,  
 Singes out her woes, &c.

*T. Warton.*

6. *First heard before*] Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 24.

Sed mihi vel tellus obtem prius ima  
 dehiscat,  
 Ante pudor quam te violo, aut tua  
 jura resolvo.

See *Cerda. Richardson.*

6. *First heard before the shallow cuckow's bill, &c.*] That is, if they happen to be heard before the cuckow, it is lucky for the lover. But Spenser calls the cuckow the messenger of spring, and supposes that his trumpet

Now timely sing, ere the rude bird of hate  
 Foretel my hopeless doom in some grove nigh; 10  
 As thou from year to year hast sung too late  
 For my relief, yet hadst no reason why:  
 Whether the Muse, or Love call thee his mate,  
 Both them I serve, and of their train am I.

## II.

DONNA leggiadra il cui bel nome honora  
 L'herbosa val di Rheno, e il nobil varco,  
 Bene è colui d'ogni valore scarco  
 Qual tuo spirto gentil non innamora,  
 Che dolcemente mostra sì di fuora 5  
 De sui atti soavi giamai parco,  
 E i don', che son d'amor saette ed arco,  
 La onde l' alta tua virtù s'infiora.  
 Quando tu vaga parli, o lieta canti  
 Che mover possa duro alpestre legno 10  
 Guardi ciascun a gli occhi, ed a gli orecchi  
 L'entrata, chi di te si truova indegno;  
 Gratia sola di su gli vaglia, inanti  
 Che'l disio amoroso al cuor s'invecchi.

*shrill* warns all lovers to wait upon Cupid, Sonn. xix. Jonson gives this appellation to the nightingale, in the Sad Shepherd, a. ii. s. 6.

But best, the dear good angel of the spring.  
 The nightingale.

*Angel* is messenger. And the whole expression seems to be

literally from a fragment of Sappho, preserved by the scholiast on Sophocles, Electr. v. 148.

ΕΡΟΣ Δ' ΑΙΤΕΛΟΣ, *impetuosus ardor*.

Milton laments afterwards, that hitherto the nightingale had not preceded the cuckow as she ought: had always sung too late, that is, after the cuckow.  
*T. Warton.*

## III.

QUAL in colle aspro, al imbrunir di sera

L'avèzza giovinetta pastorella

Va bagnando l'herbetta strana e bella

Che mal si spande a disusata spera

Fuor di sua natia alma primavera,

5

Così Amor meco insù la lingua snella

Desta il fior novo di strania favella,

Mentre io di te, vezzosamente altera,

Canto, dal mio buon popol not inteso,

E'l bel Tamigi cangio col bel Arno.

10

Amor lo volse, ed io a l'altrui peso

Seppi ch' Amor cosa mai volse indarno.

Deh! foss' il mio cuor lento e'l duro seno

A chi pianta dal ciel sì buon terreno.

## CANZONE\*.

RIDONSI donne e giovani amorosi

M' accostandosi attorno, e perche scrivi,

Perche tu scrivi in lingua ignota e strana

Verseggiando d' amor, e come t'osi?

1. *Qual in colle aspro, al imbrunir di sera*] To express the approach of evening, the Italians say, *fu l'imbrunir*. And thus Petrarch, "*Imbrunir veggio la sera*." Canz. xxxvii. See note on the word *imbrown*, in *Par. Lost*, b. iv. 246. *T. Warton*.

8. *Va bagnando l'herbetta &c.*] See Petrarch's *Canzone*, xxxvii.

*Da bagnar l'herbe, &c.*

Of Milton's Sonnets, only this, the fourth, fifth, and sixteenth,

are closed with rhyming couplets *T. Warton*.

\* It is from Petrarch, that Milton mixes the *Canzone* with the *Sonetto*. Dante regarded the *Canzone* as the most perfect species of lyric composition. *Della Volg. Eloqu.* c. iv. But for the *Canzone* he allows more laxity than for the *Sonnet*. He says, when the Song is written on a grave or tragic subject, it is denominated *Canzone*, and when on a comic, *cantilena*, as diminutive. *T. Warton*.



- Dinne, se la tua speme sia mai vana, 5  
 E de pensieri lo miglior t' arrivi;  
 Così mi van burlando, altri rivi  
 Altri lidi t'aspettan, ed altre onde  
 Nelle cui verdi sponde  
 Spuntati ad hor, ad hor a la tua chioma 10  
 L' immortal guiderdon d' eterne frondi  
 Perche alle spalle tue soverchia soma?  
 Canzon dirotti, e tu per me rispondi  
 Dice mia Donna, e'l suo dir, é il mio cuore  
 Questa e lingua di cui si vanta Amore. 15

## IV.

- DIODATI, e te'l dirò con maraviglia,  
 Quel ritroso io ch'amor spreggiar soléa  
 E de suoi lacci spesso mi ridea  
 Già caddi, ov'huom dabben talhor s'impiglia.  
 Ne treccie d'oro, ne guancia vermiglia 5  
 M'abbaglian sì, ma sotto nova idea  
 Pellegrina bellezza che'l cuor bea,

7. — *altri rivi*

*Altri lidi t'aspettan, ed altre onde, &c.]*

An echo to a stanza in Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xxxiv. 72.

*Altri fiumi, altri laghi, altre compagnie, &c.*

*Altri piani, altre valli altre montagne, &c.*

See *Lycidas*, v. 174.

Where other groves, and other shores along, &c.

The lady implied in the Italian Sonnets is perhaps Leonora,

of whom more will be said hereafter. *T. Warton.*

5. *Ne treccie d'oro, ne guancia vermiglia*

*M'abbaglian sì, &c.]*

So in *Comus*, v. 752.

What need a *vermilion-tinctur'd* lip for that,

Love-darting eyes, and tresses like the morn?

And on the Death of a fair Infant, v. 5.

— That lovely dye  
 That did thy cheek *evermeil*,

*T. Warton.*

Portamenti alti honesti, e nelle ciglia  
 Quel sereno fulgor d' amabil nero,  
 Parole adorne di lingua piu d' una,  
 E'l cantar che di mezzo l'hemispero  
 Traviar ben puo la faticosa Luna,  
 E degli occhi suoi auventa si gran fuoco  
 Che l'incerar gli orecchi mi fia poco.

10

## V.

PER certo i bei vostr' occhi, Donna mia  
 Esser non puo che non sian lo mio sole  
 Si mi percuoton forte, come ei suole

8. *Portamenti alti honesti,*] So before, Sonn. iii. 8. "Vezzosa-  
 "mente altera." *Portamento* ex-  
 presses the lofty dignified de-  
 portment, by which the Italian  
 poets constantly describe female  
 beauty; and which is strikingly  
 characteristic of the composed  
 majestic carriage of the Italian  
 ladies, either as contrasted with  
 the liveliness of the French, or  
 the timid delicacy of the English.  
 Compare Petrarch's first Sonnet  
 on the Death of Laura. Sonn.  
 cccxix.

Ohime, il bel viso! Ohime, il voave  
 sguardo!

Ohime, il portamento leggiadro altiero!

Our author appears to have ap-  
 plied this Italian idea of a grace-  
 ful solemnity in his description  
 of Eve.

Milton, as it may be seen from  
 these Sonnets, appears to have  
 been struck, on going into Italy,  
 with a new idea of foreign  
 beauty, *sotto nova idea* "Pelle-  
 "grina Bellezza." He is now no  
 longer captivated with the *brec-*

*cie d'oro*, nor the bloom so con-  
 spicuous in fair-haired com-  
 plexions, *guancia vermiglia*; but  
 with the *nelle ciglia Quel sereno*  
*fulgor d'amabil nero*, the *degli*  
*occhi si gran fuoco*. I would add  
 the *E'l cantar*, unless that was a  
 particular compliment to his Le-  
 onora. The dark hair and eye  
 of Italy are now become his new  
 favourites. When a youth of  
 nineteen, in his general descrip-  
 tion of the English Fair, he  
 celebrates Cupid's *golden nets of*  
*hair*, l. i. el. i. 60. And in  
 Comus, beauty is characterized  
 by *vermeil-tinctured cheeks*, and  
*tresses like the morn*. T. Warton.

2. —non sian lo mio sole  
*Si mi percuoton forte,*]  
 So Ariosto, Orland. Fur. c. viii.  
 20.

*Percote il sol ardente il vicin colle.*

And P. L. iv. 244.

—Where the morning sun first  
 warmly smote  
 The open field.

Where see the note. T. Warton.

Per l'arene di Libia chi s' invia,  
 Mentre un caldo vapor (ne sentì pria) 5  
 Da quel lato si spinge ove mi duole,  
 Che forse amanti nelle lor parole  
 Chiaman sospir ; io non so che si sia :  
 Parte rinchiusa, e turbida si cela  
 Scoffo mi il petto, e poi n'uscendo poco 10  
 Quivi d' attorno o s'agghiaccia, o s' ingiela ;  
 Ma quanto a gli occhi giunge a trovar loco  
 Tutte le notti a me suol far piovose  
 Finche mia Alba rivien colma di rose.\*

## VI.

GIOVANE piano, e semplicetto amante  
 Poi che fuggir me stesso in dubbio sono,  
 Madonna a voi del mio cuor l'humil dono  
 Faro divoto ; io certo a prove tante  
 L'hebbi fedele, intrepido, costante, 5  
 De pensieri leggiadro, accorto, e buono ;  
 Quando rugge il gran mondo, e scocca il tuono,  
 S'arma di se, e d' intero diamante,  
 Tanto del forse, e d' invidia sicuro,  
 Di timori, e speranze al popol use 10  
 Quanto d'ingegno, e d'alto valor vago,  
 E di cetta sonora, e delle muse:  
 Sol troverete in tal parte men duro  
 Ove Amor mise l'insanabil ago.†

\* The forced thoughts at the close of this Sonnet are intolerable. But he was now in the land of conceit, and was infected by writing in its language. He had changed his native Thames for Arno, Sonn. iii. 9.

Canto, dal mio buon popol non inteso,  
 E' bel Tamigi cangio col bel Arno.  
 T. Warton.

† Milton had a natural severity of mind. For love-verses, his Italian Sonnets have a re-

## VII.

*On his being arrived to the age of 23.\**

How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth,  
Stol'n on his wing my three and twentieth year!

markable air of gravity and dignity. They are free from the metaphysics of Petrarch, and are more in the manner of Dante. Yet he calls his seventh Sonnet, in a Letter printed from the Cambridge manuscript by Birch, a composition in the *Petrarchian* stanza.

In 1762, the late Mr. Thomas Hollis examined the Laurentian library at Florence, for six Italian Sonnets of Milton, addressed to his friend Chimentelli; and, for other Italian and Latin compositions and various original letters, said to be remaining in manuscript at Florence. He searched also for an original bust in marble of Milton, supposed to be somewhere in that city. But he was unsuccessful in his curious enquiries. *T. Warton.*

\* This Sonnet was made in 1631, and was sent in a letter to a friend, who had importuned the author to take orders; of which letter there are two draughts in his own Manuscript, and the former runs thus.

"SIR,  
"Besides that in sundry respects I must acknowledge me to profit by you whenever we meet, you are often to me, and were yesterday especially, as a good watchman to admonish that the hours of the night pass on (for so I call my life

"as yet obscure and unserviceable to mankind) and that the day is at hand, wherein Christ commands all to labour while there is light: which because I am persuaded you do to no other purpose than out of a true desire that God should be honoured in every one, I am ever ready, you know, when occasion is, to give you account, as I ought, though unasked, of my tardy moving according to the precept of my conscience, which I firmly trust is not without God. Yet now I will not strain for any set apology, but only refer myself to what my mind shall have at any time to declare herself at her best ease. Yet if you think, as you said, that too much love of learning is in fault, and that I have given up myself to dream away my years in the arms of studious retirement, like Endymion with the moon on Latmus hill; yet consider, that if it were no more but this, to overcome this, there is on the other side both ill more bewitchful to entice away, and natural years more swaying, and good more available to withdraw to that which you wish me; as first all the fond hopes which forward youth and vanity are fledged with, none of which can sort with this Pluto's helmet, as Homer calls it, of obscurity, and would soon cause

My hasting days fly on with full career,  
But my late spring no bud or blossom shew'th.

"me to throw it off, if there  
"were nothing else in it but an  
"affected and fruitless curiosity  
"of knowing; and then a na-  
"tural desire of honour and re-  
"nown, which I think possesses  
"the breast of every scholar, as  
"well of him that shall, as of  
"him that never shall obtain it,  
"(if this be altogether bad.)  
"which would quickly overway  
"this phlegm and melancholy of  
"bashfulness, or that other hu-  
"mour, and prevail with me to  
"prefer a life, that had at least  
"some credit in it, some place  
"given it, before a manner of  
"living much disregarded and  
"discountenanced. There is be-  
"sides this, as all well know,  
"about this time of a man's life,  
"a strong inclination, be it good  
"or no, to build up a house and  
"family of his own in the best  
"manner he may; to which no-  
"thing is more helpful than the  
"early entering into some cre-  
"dible employment, and no-  
"thing more cross than my  
"way, which my wasting youth  
"would presently bethink her  
"of, and kill one love with an-  
"other, if that were all. But  
"what delight or what peculiar  
"conceit, may you in charity  
"think, could hold out against  
"the long knowledge of a con-  
"trary command from above,  
"and the terrible seizure of him  
"that hid his talent? Therefore  
"commit grace to grace, or na-  
"ture to nature, there will be  
"found on the other way more  
"obvious temptations to bad,  
"as gain, preferment, ambition,  
"more winning presentments of

"good, and more prone affec-  
"tions of nature to incline and  
"dispose, not counting outward  
"causes, as expectations and  
"murmurs of friends, scandals  
"taken, and such like, than the  
"bare love of notions could re-  
"sist. So that if it be that  
"which you suppose, it had by  
"this been round about begirt  
"and overmastered, whether it  
"had proceeded from virtue,  
"vice, or nature in me. Yet  
"that you may see that I am  
"some time suspicious of my-  
"self, and do take notice of a  
"certain belatedness in me, I  
"am the bolder to send you  
"some of my nightward thoughts  
"some while since, since they  
"come in fitly, in a Petrarchian  
"stanza.

"How soon bath Time, &c."

The latter draught is as follows.

"SIR,

"Besides that in sundry other  
"respects I must acknowledge  
"me to profit by you whenever we  
"meet, you are often to me, and  
"were yesterday especially, as a  
"good watchman to admonish  
"that the hours of the night  
"pass on, (for so I call my life  
"as yet obscure and unservice-  
"able to mankind,) and that the  
"day with me is at hand, wherein  
"Christ commands all to labour  
"while there is light: which  
"because I am persuaded you  
"do to no other purpose, than  
"out of a true desire that God  
"should be honoured in every  
"one, I therefore think myself  
"bound, though unasked, to

Perhaps my semblance might deceive the truth,  
That I to manhood am arriv'd so near,

5

" give you account, as oft as  
 " occasion is, of this my tardy  
 " moving, according to the pre-  
 " cept of my conscience, which  
 " I firmly trust is not without  
 " God. Yet now I will not  
 " strain for any set apology, but  
 " only refer myself to what my  
 " mind shall have at any time to  
 " declare herself at her best ease.  
 " But if you think, as you said,  
 " that too much love of learning  
 " is in fault, and that I have  
 " given up myself to dream  
 " away my years in the arms of  
 " studious retirement, like Endy-  
 " mion with the moon as the  
 " tale of Latmus goes; yet con-  
 " sider that if it were no more  
 " but the mere love of learning,  
 " whether it proceed from a  
 " principle bad, good, or natural,  
 " it could not have held out  
 " thus long against so strong  
 " opposition on the other side  
 " of every kind; for if it be bad,  
 " why should not all the fond  
 " hopes that forward youth and  
 " vanity are fledged with, together  
 " with gain, pride, and ambi-  
 " tion, call me forward more  
 " powerfully, than a poor re-  
 " gardless and unprofitable sin  
 " of curiosity should be able to  
 " withhold me, whereby a man  
 " cuts himself off from all  
 " action, and becomes the most  
 " helpless, pusillanimous, and  
 " unweaponed creature in the  
 " world, the most unfit and  
 " unable to do that which all  
 " mortals most aspire to, either  
 " to be useful to his friends, or  
 " to offend his enemies. Or if  
 " it be to be thought a natural  
 " proneness, there is against  
 " that a much more potent in-  
 " clination inbred, which about  
 " this time of life solicits most,  
 " the desire of house and family  
 " of his own, to which nothing  
 " is esteemed more helpful than  
 " the early entering into credible  
 " employment, and nothing more  
 " hindering than this affected  
 " solitariness. And though this  
 " were enough, yet there is to  
 " this another act, if not of pure,  
 " yet of refined nature no less  
 " available to dissuade prolonged  
 " obscurity, a desire of honour  
 " and repute and immortal fame  
 " seated in the breast of every  
 " true scholar, which all make  
 " haste to by the readiest ways  
 " of publishing and divulging  
 " conceived merits, as well those  
 " that shall, as those that never  
 " shall obtain it. Nature there-  
 " fore would presently work the  
 " more prevalent way, if there  
 " were nothing but this inferior  
 " bent of herself to restrain her.  
 " Lastly, the love of learning, as  
 " it is the pursuit of something  
 " good, it would sooner follow  
 " the more excellent and supreme  
 " good known and presented,  
 " and so be quickly diverted  
 " from the empty and fantastic  
 " chase of shadows and notions  
 " to the solid good flowing from  
 " due and timely obedience to  
 " that command in the Gospel  
 " set out by the terrible seizing  
 " of him that hid the talent.  
 " It is more probable therefore  
 " that not the endless delight of  
 " speculation, but this very con-  
 " sideration of that great com-  
 " mandment, does not press  
 " forward, as soon as many do

And inward ripeness doth much less appear,  
 That some more timely-happy spirits indu'th.  
 Yet be it less or more, or soon or slow,  
 It shall be still in strictest measure even  
 To that same lot, however mean or high,

10

"to undergo, but keeps off with  
 "a sacred reverence and religious  
 "advisement how best to  
 "undergo; not taking thought  
 "of being late, so it give advantage  
 "to be more fit; for those  
 "that were latest lost nothing,  
 "when the master of the vine-  
 "yard came to give each one  
 "his hire. And here I am  
 "come to a stream-head copious  
 "enough to disburthen itself  
 "like Nilus at seven mouths  
 "into an ocean; but then I  
 "should also run into a reciprocal  
 "contradiction of ebbing  
 "and flowing at once, and do  
 "that which I excuse myself for  
 "not doing, preach and not  
 "preach. Yet that you may see  
 "that I am something suspicious  
 "of myself, and do take notice  
 "of a certain belatedness in me,  
 "I am the bolder to send  
 "you some of my nightward  
 "thoughts some while since,  
 "because they come in not  
 "altogether unfitly, made up in  
 "a Petrarchian stanza, which I  
 "told you of.

"How soon hath Time, &c.

"By this I believe you may  
 "well repent of having made  
 "mention at all of this matter,  
 "for if I have not all this while  
 "won you to this, I have certainly  
 "worn you of it. This  
 "therefore alone may be a sufficient  
 "reason for me to keep

"me as I am, lest having thus  
 "tired you singly, I should deal  
 "worse with a whole congregation,  
 "and spoil all the patience  
 "of a parish: for I myself do  
 "not only see my own tediousness,  
 "but now grow offended  
 "with it, that has hindered me  
 "thus long from coming to the  
 "last and best period of my letter,  
 "and that which must now  
 "chiefly work my pardon, that  
 "I am your true and unfeigned  
 "friend."

2. *Stol'n on his wing my three  
 and twentieth year!*] Mr. Bowle  
 cites Shakespeare, *All's well that  
 ends well*, act v. s. 2.

—On our quick'at decrees  
 The inaudible and noiseless foot of  
 Time  
*Steals*, ere we can effect them.

And Mr. Warton, *Juvenal*, Sat.  
 ix. 128.

—*dum bibimus, dum aerta, unguenta,  
 puellas*  
*Poscimus, obrepit non intellecta se-  
 nectus.*

But the application of *steal* in  
 this sonnet, as Mr. Warton re-  
 marks, is different. In Shake-  
 speare and Juvenal, Time and  
 Old Age come imperceptibly  
 upon us and our purposes. In  
 Milton, Time as imperceptibly  
 and silently carries off on his  
 wing, in his flight, the poet's  
 twenty-third year. E.

Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heaven;  
 All is, if I have grace to use it so,  
 As ever in my great Task-Master's eye.

## VIII.

*When the assault was intended to the City.\**

CAPTAIN or Colonel, or Knight in arms,  
 Whose chance on these defenceless doors may seize,  
 If deed of honour did thee ever please,  
 Guard them, and him within protect from harms.  
 He can requite thee, for he knows the charms 5  
 That call fame on such gentle acts as these,  
 And he can spread thy name o'er lands and seas,  
 Whatever clime the sun's bright circle warms.  
 Lift not thy spear against the Muses' bow'r:  
 The great Emathian conqueror bid spare 10

\* To this sonnet we have prefixed the title, which the author himself has in the Manuscript. In the Manuscript this sonnet was written by another hand, and had this title, *On his door when the City expected an assault*: but this he scratched out, and wrote with his own hand, *When the assault was intended to the City*. The date was also added, 1642, but blotted out again: and it was in November, 1642, that the King marched with his army as near as Brentford, and put the city in great consternation. Milton was then in his thirty-fourth year.

1. — *Knight in arms*,] So Shakespeare, K. Richard II. act i. s. 3. where Bolingbroke enters, "appellant in armour."

K. Rich. Marshal, ask yonder knight in arms.

T. Warton.

3. *If deed of honour did thee ever please*,] So this verse is printed in the second edition in the year 1673. In the first edition of 1645, and in the Manuscript, it stands thus,

*If ever deed of honour did thee please.*

10. *The great Emathian conqueror &c.*] When Alexander the Great took Thebes, and entirely rased the rest of the city, he ordered the house of Pindar to be preserved out of regard to his memory: and the ruins of Pindar's house were to be seen at Thebes, in Pausanias's time, who lived under Antoninus the philosopher. See Pausan. *Ætrot. cap. 25. edit. Kuhnii.*



The house of Pindarus, when temple' and tow'r  
Went to the ground: and the repeated air  
Of sad Electra's poet had the pow'r  
To save th' Athenian walls from ruin bare.

## IX.

*To a virtuous young Lady.*

LADY, that in the prime of earliest youth  
Wisely hast shunn'd the broad way and the green,  
And with those few art eminently seen,

11. —temple and tow'r] See note, P. R. iii. 268. E.

12. —and the repeated air &c.] I suppose this refers to a passage in Plutarch's Life of Lysander. When that general had taken Athens, he proposed to change the government. Some say he moved in council that the Athenians might be reduced to slavery, when at the same time Erianthus the Theban proposed wholly to destroy the city, and leave the country desolate: but a little afterwards, at an entertainment of the captains, one of them repeated some verses out of Euripides's Electra, beginning thus,

Electra, oh unhappy queen!  
Whither wou'd you fly? return;  
Your absence the forsaken groves  
And desert palace seem to mourn.

This struck them, and gave them occasion to reflect, how barbarous it would appear to lay that city in ruin; which had been renowned for the birth and education of so many famous men, οὐτα μὲντοι συνουσίας γαστρίας τῶν ἡγμένων παρὰ πότος, καὶ τίτος Φωκίας ἄσπας ἐκ τῆς Εὐριπίδου Ἠλεκτρας τὴν παρῶσα, ἢ ἡ ἀρχή.

Λυγαιμένης ἡ βασίς, κλέος Ἠλεκτρα  
Ποιῶσαι ἀγροτικὰς ἀλλαν

Πατὰς ἐπικλασθῆναι, καὶ φανταί  
σχιστοὶ ἔργον, τῇ οὕτως ἐκκλησὶ καὶ  
τοιαύτους ἀνδρας φέρουσιν ἀλλαν καὶ  
δαρκασθῆναι τὴν πόλιν. Vol. i. p.  
441. edit. Paris. 1624.

12. The lines of Euripides are at v. 168. It appears, however, that Lysander ordered the walls and fortifications to be demolished. See Plutarch. Opp. tom. ii. Vit. p. 607. Par. 1572. 8vo.

By the epithet *sad*, Milton denominates the pathetic character of Euripides. *Repeated* signifies recited. But it has been ingeniously suggested, that the epithet *sad* belongs to Electra, who very often calls herself ΟΙΚΤΡΑ, ΤΑΑΙΝΑ, &c. in Euripides's play; and says, that all the city gave her the same appellation, ἡ κληρονομή δὲ μ' ἈΘΑΙΑΝ Ἠλεκτρας πολυήτας. T. Warton.

14. To save th' Athenian walls by ruin bare.] See our author's Psalm vii. 60.

Fall on his crown with ruin steep.  
The meaning in both instances is obvious and similar.

This is one of Milton's best Sonnets. T. Warton.

That labour up the hill of heav'nly truth,  
 The better part with Mary and with Ruth 5  
 Chosen thou hast; and they that overween,  
 And at thy growing virtues fret their spleen,  
 No anger find in thee, but pity' and ruth.  
 Thy care is fix'd, and zealously attends  
 To fill thy odorous lamp with deeds of light, 10  
 And hope that reaps not shame. Therefore be sure  
 Thou, when the bridegroom with his feastful friends  
 Passes to bliss at the mid hour of night,  
 Hast gain'd thy entrance, Virgin wise and pure.

5. —with Mary and with Ruth] So it is in Milton's Manuscript, and in the edition of 1673. In the first edition of 1645 it was falsely printed

—with Mary and the Ruth.

6. —overween,] Par. Lost, x. 873. "Him overweening to over-reach." See note on Comus, 309. T. Warton.

7. And at thy growing virtues] In the Manuscript it was at first,

And at thy blooming virtue or prospering.

8. —but pity' and ruth] Here Ruth and ruth are made to rhyme to each other, and it may perhaps offend the niceness of modern ears that the same word should rhyme to itself though in different senses: but our old poets were not so very delicate,

and the reader may see parallel instances in Spenser's Faery Queen, b. i. cant. 6. st. 39. and b. vii. cant. 6. st. 38.

11. And hope that reaps not shame.] Ελπις ου κατασχυνι. ROM. v. 5. Hurd.

12. Thou, when the bridegroom with his feastful friends] Feastful is an epithet in Spenser. He alludes to the midnight feasting of the Jews before the consummation of marriage. T. Warton.

13. Passes to bliss at the mid hour of night,] Instead of this line he had written at first,

Opens the door of bliss that hour of night:

but he rightly altered it, the better to accommodate it to the parable to which he is alluding. See Matt. xxv.

## X.

*To the Lady Margaret Ley.\**

DAUGHTER to that good Earl, once President  
 Of England's Council, and her Treasury,  
 Who liv'd in both unstain'd with gold or fee,  
 And left them both, more in himself content,  
 Till sad the breaking of that Parliament 5  
 Broke him, as that dishonest victory  
 At Chæroneæ, fatal to liberty,  
 Kill'd with report that old man eloquent.  
 Though later born than to have known the days  
 Wherein your father flourish'd, yet by you, 10  
 Madam, methinks I see him living yet;

\* We have given the title which is in Milton's Manuscript, *To the Lady Margaret Ley*. She was the daughter of Sir James Ley, whose singular learning and abilities raised him through all the great posts of the law, till he came to be made Earl of Marlborough, and Lord High Treasurer, and Lord President of the Council to King James I. He died in an advanced age, and Milton attributes his death to the breaking of the Parliament; and it is true that the Parliament was dissolved the 10th of March, 1628-9, and he died on the 14th of the same month. He left several sons and daughters; and the Lady Margaret was married to Captain Hobson of the Isle of Wight. It appears from the accounts of Milton's life, that in the year 1643 he used frequently to visit this lady and her husband, and about that time we may sup-

pose that this Sonnet was composed.

6. —as that dishonest victory &c.] This victory was gained by Philip of Macedon over the Athenians and their allies; and the news being brought to Athens, that old man eloquent, Isocrates, who was near a hundred years old, died within a few days, being determined not to survive the liberties of his country. —εταλιωτα τοι βιοι επι Χαιρωνιδου αρχοντας, αλγαις ημεραις υστατον της εν Χαιρωνια μαχης, θναισι διαστα βιβλιακως λεγεται ετε, γνημη χρησαμενος, αμα τοις αγαθοις της πολιως ευγκαταλογει τοι ιαυτου βιον. Dionysius Halicarnass. de Isocrate, vol. ii. p. 150. edit. Hudson. Plutarch says, that he abstained from food for four days, and so put a period to his life, having lived 98, or as some say 100 years. See Plutarch's Lives of the ten Orators, vol. ii. p. 837. edit. Paris, 1624.

So well your words his noble virtues praise,  
That all both judge you to relate them true,  
And to possess them, honour'd Margaret.

## XI.

*On the detraction which followed upon my writing  
certain treatises.\**

A BOOK was writ of late call'd Tetrachordon,  
And woven close, both matter, form, and stile;  
The subject new: it walk'd the town a while,  
Numb'ring good intellects; now seldom por'd on.

\* When Milton published his books of Divorce, he was greatly condemned by the Presbyterian clergy, whose advocate and champion he had been before. He published his Tetrachordon or Expositions upon the four chief places in Scripture, which treat of marriage or nullities in marriage, in 1645; and soon after we may suppose he composed these two Sonnets, which were first printed in the edition of 1673, and to which we have prefixed the title that he himself has in the Manuscript.

1. *A book was writ of late &c.]*  
In the Manuscript he had written at first,

*I writ a book of late call'd Tetrachordon,  
And weav'd in close, both matter,  
form, and stile;  
It went off well about the town a while,  
Numb'ring good wits, but now is seldom  
por'd on.*

The reader will readily agree, that it was altered for the better.

1. *A book was writ of late call'd Tetrachordon.]* This elaborate discussion, unworthy in

many respects of Milton, and in which much acuteness of argument, and comprehension of reading, were idly thrown away, was received with contempt, or rather ridicule, as we learn from Howel's Letters. A better proof that it was treated with neglect is, that it was attacked by two nameless and obscure writers only; one of whom Milton calls, a *Serving-man turned Solicitor!* Our author's divorce was on Platonic principles. He held, that disagreement of mind was a better cause of separation than adultery or frigidity. Here was a fair opening for the laughers. For this doctrine Milton was summoned before the Lords. But they not approving his accusers, the presbyterian clergy, or thinking the business too speculative, he was quickly dismissed. On this occasion Milton commenced hostilities against the Presbyterians. He illustrates his own system in this line of Par. Lost, ix. 372.

Go, for thy stay, not free, absents thee more.

Cries the stall-reader, Bless us! what a word on 5

A title page is this! and some in file

Stand spelling false, while one might walk to Mile-

End Green. Why is it harder, Sirs, than Gordon,

Colkitto, or Macdonnel, or Galasp?

Those rugged names to our like mouths grow sleek,

That would have made Quintilian stare and gasp. 11

Thy age, like ours, O Soul of Sir John Cheek,

Hated not learning worse than toad or asp,

When thou taught'st Cambridge, and King Edward

Greek.

Milton wished he had not written this work in English. See the *Defensio secunda*. "Vellem hæc tantum, sermone veraculo me non scripsisse: non enim in vernas lectores incidissem, quibus solenne est sua bona ignorare, aliorum mala irridere." *Prose Works*, ii. 331. *T. Warton*.

5. *Cries the stall-reader*,] So in *Apol. Smectymn. sect. viii*. "In the language of *stall-epistle* "nonsense." *Pr. W.* 122. *T. Warton*.

9. *Colkitto, Macdonnel, or Galasp?*] Milton is here collecting, from his hatred to the Scots, what he thinks Scottish names of an ill sound. *Colkitto* and *Macdonal*, are one and the same person; a brave officer on the royal side, an Irish man of the Antrim family, who served under Montrose. The *Macdonals* of that family are styled, by way of distinction, *Mac Colcittok*, that is, descendants of lame Colin. *Galasp* is a Scottish writer against the Independents; for whom see verses on the *Forcers of Conscience*, &c. *T. Warton*.

9. —or *Galasp*.] He is *George Gillespie*, one of the Scotch members of the Assembly of Divines, as his name is subscribed to their letter to the Belgic, French, and Helvetian churches, dated 1643. There are two or more Letters from Samuel Rutherford, to Gillespie, in *Joshua Redivivus*, quoted above. See p. ii. *epist.* 54, 55. p. 408. *seq.* p. i. *epist.* 114. p. 165. *epist.* 77. p. 122. *T. Warton*.

10. *Those rugged names*] He had written at first *barbarous*, and then *rough hewn*, and then *rugged*.

12. *Sir John Cheek*] Or *Cheke*. He was the first Professor of the Greek tongue in the university of Cambridge, and was highly instrumental in bringing that language into repute, and restoring the original pronunciation of it, though with great opposition from the patrons of ignorance and popery, and especially from Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Chancellor of the University. He was afterwards made one of the tutors to Edward VI. See his life by

## XII.

*On the same.*

I did but prompt the age to quit their clogs  
 By the known rules of ancient liberty,  
 When strait a barbarous noise environs me  
 Of owls and cuckows, asses, apes, and dogs:  
 As when those hinds that were transform'd to frogs 5  
 Rail'd at Latona's twin-born progeny,  
 Which after held the sun and moon in fee.  
 But this is got by casting pearl to hogs;  
 That bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,  
 And still revolt when truth would set them free. 10  
 Licence they mean when they cry Liberty;

Strype, or in *Biographia Britannica*.

13. *Hated not learning worse than toad or asp,*] Mr. Bowle quotes Halle, Rich. II. f. 34. "Diverse noble personages hated Kinge Richard worse than a loade or a serpent." T. Warton.

This Sonnet was written evidently in a sportive struggle to bend knotty words into rhyme. Symmons.

4. *Of owls and cuckows,*] In Milton's Manuscript it stands,

Of owls and buzzards.

5. *As when those hinds &c.*] The fable of the Lycian clowns changed into frogs is related by Ovid, Met. vi. Fab. 4. and the poet in saying

Which after held the sun and moon  
 In fee,

intimates the good hopes which he had of himself, and his ex-

pectations of making a considerable figure in the world.

8. —*by casting pearl to hogs;*] Matt. vii. 6. *neither cast ye your pearls before swine.*

10. *And still revolt &c.*] He had written at first,

*And hate the truth whereby they should be free.*

11. *Licence they mean when they cry Liberty.*] "The hypocrisy of some shames not to take offence at this doctrine [the liberty of Divorce] for *Licence*; whereas indeed, they fear it would remove Licence, and leave them but few companions." Tetrachord. vol. i. 4to. p. 319. He further explains himself at the bottom of the same page: "This one virtue [the prohibition of divorce] hath, to fill all christendom with whoredoms and adulteries, beyond the art of Balaams or of devils."

For who loves that, must first be wise and good;  
 But from that mark how far they rove we see  
 For all this waste of wealth, and loss of blood.

## XIII.

*To Mr. H. LAWES on his Airs.\**

HARRY, whose tuneful and well measur'd song  
 First taught our English music how to span  
 Words with just note and accent, not to scan  
 With Midas' ears, committing short and long;  
 Thy worth and skill exempts thee from the throng, 5  
 With praise enough for envy to look wan;

Again, in his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, p. 341. "In deed, none can love freedom heartily but good men: the rest love not Freedom, but Licence; which never hath more scope or more indulgence than under tyrants." *Hurd*.

\* This Sonnet was also first added in the edition of 1673, and in Milton's Manuscript it is dated Feb. 9, 1645, and said to be wrote to Mr. Lawes, on the publishing of his *Airs*. This Mr. Henry Lawes was a gentleman of his Majesty's chapel, and one of his band of music, and an intimate friend of Milton, as appears by his first publishing the *Mask* in 1637, the *airs* of which he set to music, and probably too those of his *Arcades*. He was educated under Signor Coperario, and introduced a softer mixture of Italian airs, than had been practised before in our nation; as Mr Fenton says in his

notes upon Waller, who has also honoured him with a copy of verses inscribed *To Mr. Henry Lawes, who had then newly set a song of mine in the year 1635*. See Prelim. note to *Comus*.

3. *Words with just note &c.* These two lines were once thus in the Manuscript,

Words with just notes, which till then  
 us'd to scan or  
 —when most were us'd to scan  
 With Midas' ears, misjoining short  
 and long.

But committing conveys with it the idea of offending against quantity and harmony.

4. *Committing* is a Latinism. *T. Warton*.

5. —*exempts thee from the throng*] Horace, *Od. i. i. 32*.

*Secernunt populo.*

*Richardson.*

6. *With praise enough &c.* Instead of this line was the following at first in the Manuscript,

And gives thee praise above the pipe  
 of Pan.

To after age thou shalt be writ the man,  
That with smooth air could'st humour best our  
tongue.

Thou honour'st verse, and verse must lend her wing  
To honour thee, the priest of Phœbus' quire, 10  
That tun'st their happiest lines in hymn, or story.  
Dante shall give fame leave to set thee higher  
Than his Casella, whom he woo'd to sing  
Met in the milder shades of purgatory.

7. —*thou shalt be writ the man,*  
&c.] This too in the style of  
Horace, Od. i. vi. 1.

*Scriberis Vario fortis, et hostium*  
*Victor.*

And in the Manuscript it was  
thus at first,

—*thou shalt be writ a man*  
*That didst reform thy art, the chief*  
*among.*

9. —*and verse must lend her*  
*wing*] There are three manu-  
script copies of this sonnet, two  
by Milton, the second corrected,  
and the third by another hand;  
and in all of them we read *must*  
*lend her wing*, which we prefer  
to *must send her wing*, as it is in  
the printed copies.

11. —*or story.*] “The story  
“of Ariadne set by him to mu-  
“sic.” This a note in the mar-  
gin of this sonnet, as it stands  
prefixed to “Choice Psalms put  
“into musick by Henry and  
“William Lawes, Lond. for H.  
“Moseley, 1648.” The inscrip-  
tion is there, “To my friend  
“Mr. Henry Lawes.” *T. War-*  
*ton.*

12. *Dante shall give &c.*] These  
verses were thus at first,

Fame by the Tuscan's leave shall set  
thee higher

Than his Casella, whom Dante woo'd  
to sing &c.

13. *Than his Casella, whom he*  
*woo'd to sing &c.*] This refers  
to the second Canto of Dante's  
Purgatorio, where the poet re-  
lates his meeting with Casella  
in purgatory, and wooing him  
to sing in these terms,

—*se nuon legge non ti toglie*  
*Memoria, o uso à l' amoroso canto,*  
*Che mi soleva queilar tutte mie voglie ;*  
*Di ciò ti piaccia consolar alquanto*  
*L'anima mia.*

*Thyer.*

See Dante's Purgator. c. ii. v.  
111. The Italian commentators  
on the passage say, that Casella,  
Dante's friend, was a musician  
of distinguished excellence. He  
must have died a little before  
the year 1300. In the Vatican  
library is a Ballatella, or Madrigal,  
inscribed *Lemmo da Pistoja,*  
*e Casella diede il Suono.* That is,  
Lemmo da Pistoja wrote the  
words, which were set to music  
by Casella. Num. 3214. f. 149.  
Crescimbeni mentions an ancient  
manuscript Ballatella, with Dan-  
te's words and his friend Scho-  
chetti's music. Inscribed *Parole*  
*di Dante, e Suono di Schochetti.*  
1st. Vol. Poes. p. 409. From



## XIV.

*On the religious memory of Mrs. Catharine Thomson,  
my Christian friend, deceased 16 Dec. 1646.\**

WHEN faith and love, which parted from thee never,  
Had ripen'd thy just soul to dwell with God,  
Meekly thou didst resign this earthly load  
Of death, call'd life; which us from life doth sever.  
Thy works and alms and all thy good endeavour      5  
Stay'd not behind, nor in the grave were trod;  
But as faith pointed with her golden rod,  
Follow'd thee up to joy and bliss for ever.  
Love led them on, and faith who knew them best  
Thy hand-maids, clad them o'er with purple beams

many parts of his writings, Dante appears to have been a judge and a lover of music. This is not the only circumstance in which Milton resembled Dante. By *milder shades*, our author means, shades comparatively much less horrible than those which Dante describes in the *Inferno*. T. Warton.

\* To this Sonnet, which was first printed in the edition of 1673, we have added the title which is in Milton's Manuscript. Who this Mrs. Thomson was, we cannot be certain; but I find in the accounts of Milton's life, that when he was first made Latin secretary, he lodged at one Thomson's, next door to the Bull-head tavern at Charing-Cross. This Mrs. Thomson was in all probability one of that family.

\* Mr. Warton seems to have supposed that Mrs. Thomson was a Quaker. See Mr. Dunster's note on P. R. iv. 288. E.

3. *Meekly thou didst resign &c.*] In the Manuscript these lines were thus at first,

Meekly thou didst resign this earthly  
*clod*  
Of *flesh and sin*, which *man from*  
*Heav'n* doth sever.

6. *Stay'd not behind, &c.*] Instead of this lines were the following at first in the Manuscript,

Strait follow'd thee the path that  
saints have trod,  
Still as they journey'd from this dark  
abode

Up to the realm of peace and joy for  
ever.

Faith shew'd the way, and she who  
saw them best

Thy hand-maids &c.

6. —*nor in the grave were trod*;) This is a beautiful periphrasis for "good deeds forgotten at her death," and a happy improvement of the original line in the MS. T. Warton.

10. —*clad them o'er with purple beams*

*And azure wings, that up they*  
*flew so drest, &c.*]

And azure wings, that up they flew so drest, 11  
 And spake the truth of thee on glorious themes  
 Before the Judge, who thenceforth bid thee rest  
 And drink thy fill of pure immortal streams.

## XV.

*To the Lord General FAIRFAX.\**

FAIRFAX, whose name in arms through Europe rings,  
 Filling each mouth with envy or with praise,

Compare Par. Lost, xi. 14. of the personification and ascent of the prayers of Adam and Eve. And see the notes, P. L. xi. 19. *T. Warton.*

12. *And spake the truth*] There are also three manuscript copies of this Sonnet, two by Milton, the second corrected, and the third by another hand; and in all of them we read *And spoke the truth*, which is more agreeable to syntax, and better than *And speak the truth*, as it is in the printed copies.

14. *And drink thy fill of pure immortal streams.*] So in the Epitaph. Damonis, 306.

*Ætheries haurit latices, et gaudia  
 potat  
 Ore sacro.*

Compare P. L. v. 632. seq. where the angels

*Quaff immortality and joy, &c.*

The allusion is to the waters of life, and more particularly to Ps. xxxvi. 8, 9. "Thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures, for with thee is the well of life." *T. Warton.*

\* This and the two following Sonnets are not found in the edi-

tion of Milton's poems in 1673, and the reason of omitting them in the reign of Charles II. is too obvious to need explaining. They were first printed at the end of Philips's life of Milton, prefixed to the English translation of his state-letters, in 1694, which was twenty years after his death; they were afterwards cited by Toland in his life of Milton, 1698; and as far as I can perceive, they were not inserted among his other poems till the fifth edition in 1713. But the printed copies, probably being taken at first from memory, are wonderfully incorrect; whole verses are omitted, and the beauty of these Sonnets is in great measure defaced and destroyed. It is therefore a singular piece of good fortune, that they are still extant in Milton's Manuscript, the first in his own hand-writing, and the others by another hand, as he had then lost his sight: and having such an authentic copy, we shall make it our standard, and thereby restore these Sonnets to their original beauty. This to the Lord General Fairfax appears from the Manuscript to have been ad-

And all her jealous monarchs with amaze  
 And rumours loud, that daunt remotest kings,  
 Thy firm unshaken virtue ever brings 5  
 Victory home, though new rebellions raise  
 Their Hydra heads, and the false North displays  
 Her broken league to imp their serpent wings.

dressed to him at the siege of Colchester, which was carried on in the summer of 1648.

\* These Sonnets, and the two to Cyriac Skinner, were the favourites of the republicans long after the Restoration: it was some consolation to a ruined party to have such good poetry remaining on their side of the question. *T. Warton.*

1. —*rings,*] Milton is fond of *ring*, for violence of sound; I mean in a good sense, and out of its appropriated, literal application. *Sonn. xxii. 12.* "Of which all Europe *rings* from side to side." Where see the note. *Hymn. Nativ. v.* "Ring out ye crystal spheres." *Par. Lost, ii. 495.* "Hill and valley *rings.*" *Ib. iii. 347.* "Heaven *rung* with jubilee." *Ib. vi. 204.* "The faithful armies *rung* Hosanna." *Ib. vii. 562.* "All the constellations *rung.*" *Ib. vii. 633.* "The empyrean *rung* with hallelujahs." *Ib. ix. 737.* "The sound yet *rung* of his persuasive words." We may add, "No more with cymbals *ring.*" *H. Nativ. v. 208.* But this is, perhaps, a literal use. *T. Warton.*

6. —*though new rebellions raise &c.*] At this time there were several insurrections of the royalists, and the Scotch army was marching into England under

the command of Duke Hamilton.

7. *Their Hydra heads, and the false North displays*

*Her broken league to imp their serpent-wings.*]

Euripides, Milton's favourite, is the only writer of antiquity that has given wings to the monster Hydra. *Ion, v. 198.* "ΠΤΑΝΟΝ περιφλιστος." The word ΠΤΑΝΟΝ is controverted. But here perhaps is Milton's authority for the common reading.

Our author seems to have taken this idea from a passage in the *Eikon*, which he quotes in his *Argus*, sect. x. "He [the king] calls the parliament a many-headed Hydra of government, full of factions, distractions, &c." *Pr. W. i. 396.* *T. Warton.*

8. *Her broken league*] Because the English Parliament held, that the Scotch had broken their covenant, by Hamilton's march into England. *Hurd.*

8. —*to imp their serpent-wings.*] In falconry, to *imp* a feather in a hawk's wing, is to add a new piece to a mutilated stump. From the Saxon *impan*, to *ingraft*. So Spenser, of a headless trunk, *F. Q. iv. ix. 4.*

And having *gympt* the head to it agayne.

To *imp wings* is not uncommon

O yet a nobler task awaits thy hand,  
 (For what can war, but endless war still breed?) 10  
 Till truth and right from violence be freed,  
 And public faith clear'd from the shameful brand  
 Of public fraud. In vain doth valour bleed,  
 While avarice and rapine share the land.

## XVI.

*To the Lord General CROMWELL.\**

CROMWELL, our chief of men, who through a cloud  
 Not of war only, but detractions rude,

in our old poetry. Spenser,  
*Hymne of Heavenly Beautie.*

Thence gathering plumes of perfect  
 speculation,  
 To *empe* the wings of thy high flying  
 minde.

Fletcher, *Purpl. Isl. c. i. 24.*

—*imping* their floggie wings  
 With thy stolne plumes.

Shakespeare, *Rich. II. a. ii. s. 1.*

*Imp* out our drooping country's  
 broken wing.

Where Mr. Steevens produces other instances. It occurs also in poets much later than Milton. See also Reed's *Old Pl. vii. 172, 320. x. 351. T. Warton.*

13. *Of public fraud.*] The Presbyterian Committees and Subcommittees. The grievance so much complained of by Milton in his *History of England*. See Birch's edition. *Public fraud* is opposed to *public faith*, the security given by the parliament to the City-contributions for carrying on the war. Warburton.

\* In the Manuscript was this Inscription, but blotted out again,

I know not for what reason, *To the Lord General Cromwell, May 1652, On the proposals of certain ministers at the committee for propagation of the gospel.*

\* The prostitution of Milton's Muse to the celebration of Cromwell, was as inconsistent and unworthy, as that this enemy to kings, to ancient magnificence, and to all that is venerable and majestic, should have been buried in the Chapel of Henry the Seventh. But there is great dignity both of sentiment and expression in this Sonnet. Unfortunately, the close is an anticlimax to both. After a long flow of perspicuous and nervous language, the unexpected pause at "*Worcester's laureat wreath,*" is very emphatical, and has a striking effect.

1. —*who through a cloud &c.*] In the printed copies it stands thus,

—that through a crowd  
 Not of war only, but distractions rude:

but a *cloud of war* is a classical expression, and we have *nubem belli* in Virgil, *Æn. x. 809.*

Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,  
 To peace and truth thy glorious way hast plough'd,  
 And on the neck of crowned fortune proud 5  
 Hast rear'd God's trophies, and his work pursued,  
 While Darwen stream with blood of Scots imbrued,  
 And Dunbar field resounds thy praises loud,  
 And Worcester's laureate wreath. Yet much remains  
 To conquer still; peace hath her victories 10  
 No less renown'd than war: new foes arise  
 Threat'ning to bind our souls with secular chains:  
 Help us to save free conscience from the paw  
 Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.

4. *To peace and truth*] With an allusion perhaps to some of the silver coins of the Commonwealth, which have this inscription round the edges, *Truth and peace*. 1651.

5. *And on the neck of crowned fortune proud*

*Hast rear'd God's trophies, and his work pursued,*

Instead of these two glorious lines there is this single one in the printed copies,

*And fought God's battles, and his works pursued:*

and this defect in the number of verses utterly spoils the harmony of the stanza.

5. —*crowned fortune*] His malignity to Kings aided his imagination in the expression of this sublime sentiment. *Hurd*.

7. *While Darwen stream &c.*] The *Darwen* or *Derwen* is a small river near Preston in Lancashire, mentioned by Camden; and there Cromwell routed the Scotch army under Duke Hamilton in August 1648. The battles of *Dunbar* and *Worcester* are too

well known to be particularized, both fought on the memorable 3d of September, the one in 1650, and the other in 1651.

9. *And Worcester's laureate wreath,*] It was so corrected, very much for the better, from what was before in the Manuscript,

*And twenty battles more——*

9. I take it, that one of the essential beauties of the Sonnet is often to carry the pauses into the middle of the lines. Of this our author has given many striking examples; and here we discern the writer whose ear was tuned to blank verse. *T. Warburton*.

12. —*secular chains.*] The Ministers moved Cromwell to lend the secular arm to suppress sectaries. *Warburton*.

14. *Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.*] Hence it appears that this Sonnet was written about May, 1652.

By *hireling wolves* he means the presbyterian clergy, who

## XVII.

*To Sir HENRY VANE the younger.\**

VANE, young in years, but in sage counsel old,  
 Than whom a better senator ne'er held  
 The helm of Rome, when gowns not arms repell'd

possessed the revenues of the parochial benefices on the old constitution, and whose conformity he supposes to be founded altogether on motives of emolument. See note on *Lycidas*, v. 114.

Milton's praise of Cromwell may be thought inconsistent with that zeal which he professed for liberty: for Cromwell's assumption of the Protectorate, even if we allow the lawfulness of the Rebellion, was palpably a violent usurpation of power over the rights of the nation, and was reprobated even by the republican party. Milton, however, in various parts of the *Defensio Secunda*, gives excellent admonitions to Cromwell, and with great spirit, freedom, and eloquence, not to abuse his new authority. Yet not without an intermixture of the grossest adulation. See note on *Samson Agonistes*, v. 1268. *T. Warton.*

\* There is no knowing for certain when this Sonnet was composed; but we follow the order wherein they stand and are numbered in Milton's Manuscript, and probably it was composed soon after the foregoing one to Cromwell, and upon the same occasion of the ministers' proposals relating, I suppose, to their maintenance, which was then under consideration.

1. *Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old, &c.*] Sir Henry Vane the younger was the chief of the independents, and therefore Milton's friend. He was the contriver of the Solemn League and Covenant. He was an eccentric character, in an age of eccentric characters. In religion the most fantastic of all enthusiasts, and a weak writer, he was a judicious and sagacious politician. The warmth of his zeal never misled his public measures. He was a knight-errant in every thing but affairs of state. The sagacious Bishop Burnet in vain attempted to penetrate the darkness of his creed. He held, that the devils and the damned would be saved. He believed himself the person delegated by God, to reign over the saints upon earth for a thousand years. His principles founded a sect called the *Vanists*. On the whole, no single man ever exhibited such a medley of fanaticism and dissimulation, solid abilities and visionary delusions, good sense and madness. In the pamphlets of that age he is called *Sir Humorous Vanity*. He was beheaded in 1662. On the Scaffold, he compared Tower Hill to mount Pisgah, where Moses went to die, in full assurance of being immediately placed at the right hand of Christ.

Milton alludes to the execu-

The fierce Epirot and the African bold,  
 Whether to settle peace, or to unfold 5  
 The drift of hollow states hard to be spell'd,  
 Then to advise how war may best upheld  
 Move by her two main nerves, iron and gold,  
 In all her equipage : besides to know  
 Both spiritual pow'r and civil, what each means, 10  
 What severs each, thou hast learn'd, which few have  
 done :  
 The bounds of either sword to thee we owe :  
 Therefore on thy firm hand Religion leans  
 In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son.

tion of Vane and other regicides, after the Restoration, and in general to the sufferings of his friends on that event, in a speech of the Chorus on Samson's degradation. Sams. Agon. v. 687.

See also *Ibid.* v. 241.

This Sonnet seems to have been written in behalf of the independents, against the presbyterian hierarchy. *T. Warton.*

6. —*hollow states.*] *Peace with the hollow States of Holland.* Warburton.

7. *Then to advise &c.*] In the Manuscript there was at first *And* instead of *Then* : but afterwards it was corrected as it stands in the printed copies. But in the remainder of these two verses, as they stand in the printed copies, the metre is spoiled in one, and the sense in the other.

Then to advise how war may be best upheld,

Mov'd by her two main nerves Iron and gold.

*Move* by was at first in the Manuscript *Move* on her two main &c.

9. —*besides to know &c.*] In the printed editions this third stanza wants one whole line, and gives us another line so much corrupted as to be utter nonsense:

—besides to know

*What serves each, thou hast learn'd, which few have done.*

The Manuscript supplies the one, and corrects the other. In the Manuscript it was originally thus,

—besides to know

What pow'r the Church, and what the Civil means,

Thou teachest best, which few have ever done.

Afterwards thus,

—besides to know

Both spiritual pow'r and civil, what each means

Thou hast learn'd well, a praise which few have won.

At last it was corrected, as we have caused it to be printed.

13. —*firm hand*] In the Manuscript *right hand*, but altered to *firm hand*; and should have been altered further to *firm arm.* Warburton.

## XVIII.

*On the late massacre in Piemont.\**

AVENGE, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones  
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold ;

\* Among our author's state-letters there are several in Cromwell's name addressed to the Duke of Savoy, and other potentates and states, complaining of this persecution of the Protestants. His letter to the Duke of Savoy begins thus. "Red-  
"ditæ sunt nobis Genève &c.  
"Letters have been sent us from  
"Geneva, as also from the Dauphinate, and many other places  
"bordering upon your territories, wherein we are given  
"to understand, that such of  
"your Royal Highness's subjects as profess the reformed  
"religion, are commanded by  
"your edict and by your authority, within three days after  
"the promulgation of your edict,  
"to depart their native seats and  
"habitations, upon pain of capital punishment, and forfeiture  
"of all their fortunes and estates,  
"unless they will give security  
"to relinquish their religion  
"within twenty days, and embrace the Roman catholic faith.  
"And that when they applied  
"themselves to your Royal Highness in a most suppliant  
"manner, imploring a revocation  
"of the said edict, and that being received into pristine favour, they might be restored  
"to the liberty granted them by  
"your predecessors, a part of  
"your army fell upon them,  
"most cruelly slew several, put  
"others in chains, and compelled  
"the rest to fly into desert places

"and to the mountains covered  
"with snow, where some hundreds of families are reduced  
"to such distress, that it is  
"greatly to be feared, they will  
"in a short time all miserably  
"perish through cold and hunger, &c." These letters are dated in May, 1655, and about the same time it is probable this Sonnet was composed, which was added in the edition of 1673.

\* Milton's mind, busied with this affecting subject, here broke forth in a strain of poetry, where his feelings were not fettered by ceremony or formality. The Protestants availed themselves of an opportunity of exposing the horrors of popery, by publishing many sets of prints of this unparalleled scene of religious butchery, which operated like Fox's Book of Martyrs. Sir William Moreland, Cromwell's agent for the Valleys of Piemont at Geneva, published a minute account of this whole transaction, in "The History of the Valleys of Piemont, &c. Lond. 1658." With numerous cuts, in folio.

Milton, among many other atrocious examples of the papal spirit, appeals to this massacre, in Cromwell's Letter to King Charles Gustavus, dat. 1656. "Testes Alpine valles miserorum cæde ac sanguine redundantes, &c." Pr. W. ii. 454. *T. Warton.*

1. *Avenge, O Lord, &c.] Nor*



Ev'n them who kept thy truth so pure of old,  
 When all our fathers worshipp'd stocks and stones,  
 Forget not : in thy book record their groans

5

was this prayer in behalf of the persecuted Protestants entirely without effect. For Cromwell exerted himself in their favour, and his behaviour in this whole transaction is greatly to his honour, even as it is related by an historian, who was far from being partial to his memory. "Nor would the Protector be backward in such a work, which might give the world a particular opinion of his piety and zeal for the protestant religion; but he proclaimed a solemn fast, and caused large contributions to be gathered for them throughout the kingdom of England and Wales. Nor did he rest here, but sent his agents to the Duke of Savoy, a prince with whom he had no correspondence or commerce, and the next year so engaged the Cardinal of France, and even terrified the Pope himself, without so much as doing any favour to the English Roman catholics, that that Duke thought it necessary to restore all that he had taken from them, and renewed all those privileges they had formerly enjoyed. So great was the terror of his name; nothing being more usual than his saying, that *his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia, and the sound of his cannon should be heard in Rome.*" See Echard, vol. 2.

2. *Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold.*] From Fairfax's Tasso, c. xiii. 60.

—Into the valleys greene  
 Distill'd from tops of Alpine mountains cold.

T. Warton.

3. *Ev'n them who kept thy truth so pure of old, &c.*] And so in his letter to the States of the United Provinces he calls them *Alpinos incolas orthodoxam religionem antiquitus profitentes*, the inhabitants at the feet of the Alps, ancient professors of the orthodox faith; and afterwards in the same letter, *apud quos nostra religio vel ab ipsis Evangelii primis doctoribus tradita per manus et incorrupte servata, vel multo ante quam apud ceteras gentes sinceritati pristinae restituta est*, among whom our religion was either disseminated by the first doctors of the Gospel, and preserved from the defilement of superstition, or else restored to its pristine sincerity long before other nations obtained that felicity.

3. It is pretended that they have manuscripts against the papal Antichrist and Purgatory, as old as 1120. See their History by Paul Perrin, Genev. 1619. Their poverty, and seclusion from the rest of the world for so many ages, contributed in great measure to this simplicity of worship.

In his pamphlet, "the likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of churches," against endowing churches with tythes, our author frequently refers to the happy poverty and purity of the Waldenses. And he quotes Peter

Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold  
 Slain by the bloody Piemontese that roll'd  
 Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans  
 The vales redoubled to the hills, and they  
 To heav'n. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow 10  
 O'er all th' Italian fields, where still doth sway  
 The triple tyrant; that from these may grow  
 A hundred fold, who having learn'd thy way  
 Early may fly the Babylonian woe."

## XIX.

*On his blindness.\**

WHEN I consider how my light is spent  
 Ere half my days, in this dark world and wide,  
 And that one talent which is death to hide,

Gilles, and "an ancient Tractate inserted in the "Bohemian history." This pamphlet was written after our Sonnet, in 1659. See *Prose Works*, vol. i. 568, 574. *T. Warton*.

7. —that roll'd

*Mother with infant down the rocks.]*

There is a print of this piece of cruelty in Moreland. He relates, that "a mother was hurled down "a mighty rock, with a little "infant in her arms; and three "days after, was found dead "with the little child alive, but "fast clasped between the arms "of the dead mother which "were cold and stiffe, insomuch "that those who found them "had much ado to get the "young child out." p. 363. See Heylin's *Cosmogr.* lib. i. p. 193. edit. 1680. *T. Warton*.

14. —the *Babylonian woe.*] The woes denounced against Rome, under the name of Babylon, in Scripture.

14. —*Babylonian woe.*] Anti-christ. *Warburton*.

The Pope is called *Antistes Babylonius* the Babylonish bishop, In *Quint.* Nov. v. 156. *T. Warton*.

\* Aubrey says that Milton's father could read without spectacles at eighty-four: but that his mother used them soon after she was thirty. MS. Mus. Ashmol. *T. Warton*.

3. *And that one talent which is death to hide.*] He speaks here with allusion to the parable of the talents, Matt. xxv. and he speaks with great modesty of himself, as if he had not five, or two, but only one talent.

Lodg'd with me useless, though my soul more bent  
 To serve therewith my Maker, and present 5  
 My true account, lest he returning chide;  
 Doth God exact day-labour, light denied,  
 I fondly ask: But patience to prevent  
 That murmur, soon replies, God doth not need  
 Either man's work or his own gifts; who best 10  
 Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best: his state  
 Is kingly; thousands at his bidding speed,  
 And post o'er land and ocean without rest;  
 They also serve who only stand and wait.

7. *Doth God exact day-labour, light denied?* Here is a pun on the doctrine in the Gospel, that we are to work only while it is light, and in the night no man can work. There is an ambiguity between the natural light of the day, and the author's blindness. *T. Warton.*

9. From this ninth verse to the end of this Sonnet, is a speech of *Patience*, here personified. *Dr. J. Warton.*

10. —*man's work, or his own gifts;*] "Free-will or grace." *Warburton.*

12. —*thousands at his bidding speed,*  
*And post o'er land and ocean*  
*without rest;*  
*They also serve who only stand*  
*and wait.]*

Compare Spenser, in the Hymne of heavenly Love, st. x. Of the angels.

There they in their trinall triplicities

About him wait, and on his will depend;  
 Either with nimble wings to cut the skies,  
 When he them on his messages doth send;  
 Or on his own dread presence to attend.

It is the same conception in *Par. Lost*, iv. 677.

Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth  
 Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep, &c.

See also *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, v. 59.

To earth from thy prefixed seat didst post.

We have *post* in *Par. Lost*, iv. 171.

—With a vengeance sent  
 From *Media post* to *Egypt*.

*Sylvester* in *Du Bartas* calls the angels "quicke postes with ready expedition, &c." *W. i. d. i. T. Warton.*

## XX.

*To Mr. LAWRENCE.\**

LAWRENCE, of virtuous father virtuous son,  
 Now that the fields are dank, and ways are mire,  
 Where shall we sometimes meet, and by the fire  
 Help waste a sullen day, what may be won

\* This Mr. Lawrence was the son of the President of Cromwell's council: and this Sonnet was also in the edition of 1673.

1. *Lawrence, of virtuous father virtuous son, &c.*] Of the virtuous son nothing has transpired. The virtuous father, Henry Lawrence, was Member for Herefordshire in the Little Parliament which began in 1653, and was active in settling the protectorate of Cromwell. In consequence of his services, he was made President of Cromwell's council; where he appears to have signed many severe and arbitrary decrees, not only against the royalists, but the Brownists, fifth-monarchy men, and other sectarists. He continued high in favour with Richard Cromwell. As innovation is progressive, perhaps the son, Milton's friend, was an independent, and a still warmer republican. The family appears to have been seated not far from Milton's neighbourhood in Buckinghamshire: for Henry Lawrence's near relation, William Lawrence a writer, and appointed a Judge in Scotland by Cromwell, and in 1631 a gentleman commoner of Trinity College, Oxford, died at Belfont, near Staines in Middlesex, in 1682. Hence says Milton, ver. 2.

Now that the fields are dank, and ways are mire,  
 Where shall we sometimes meet, &c.

Milton, in his first Reply to More written 1654, recites among the most respectable of his friends who contributed to form the Commonwealth, "*Montacutium, Laurentium, summo ingenio ambos, optimisque artibus expositos, &c.*" Pr. W. ii. 346. Where by *Montacutium* we are to understand Edward Montague, Earl of Manchester; who, while Lord Kimbolton, was one of the members of the House of Commons impeached by the King, and afterwards a leader in the Rebellion. I believe they both deserved this panegyric. T. Warton.

3. —and by the fire  
*Help waste a sullen day, &c.*] He has sentiments of much the same cast in the Epitaph. Damon, v. 45.

—*Quis me lenire docuit  
 Mordaces curas, quis longam fallere noctem  
 Dulcibus alloquiis? Grato cum sibilat igne  
 Molle pyrum, et quicquid strepitat focus, &c.*

See also Drayton's Odes, vol. iv. 1343.

They may become John Hewes's lyre,  
 Which oft at Polesworth by the fire  
 Hath made us gravely merry.

T. Warton.

From the hard season gaining? time will run 5  
 On smoother, till Favonius re-inspire  
 The frozen earth, and clothe in fresh attire  
 The lilly' and rose, that neither sow'd nor spun.  
 What neat repast shall feast us, light and choice,  
 Of Attic taste, with wine, whence we may rise 10  
 To hear the lute well touch'd, or artful voice  
 Warble immortal notes and Tuscan air?  
 He who of those delights can judge, and spare  
 To interpose them oft, is not unwise.

## XXI.

*To CYRIAC SKINNER.\**

CYRIAC, whose grandsire on the royal bench  
 Of British Themis, with no mean applause

6. *Favonius*] The same as Zephyrus, or the western wind that blows in the spring. Plin. lib. xvi. sect. 39. *Hic est genitilis spiritus mundi, a fovendo dictus, ut quidem existimavere. Flat ab occasu æquinoctiali, ver inchoans.* And so Lucretius, i. 10.

*Nam simul ac species patefacta est  
 verna diæ,  
 Et reverata viget genitabilis aura Fa-  
 voniæ.*

6. Favonius had before been rendered familiar in English poetry for Zephyr, by a beautiful passage in Jonson's *Masques*, vol. vi. 24.

As if Favonius, father of the spring,  
 &c.

But the whole passage is from Claudian's *Zephyr*, *Rapt. Proserp.* l. ii. 73. Beaumont also has the

word, *Poems*, ed. 1629. p. 12. and 131. *T. Warton.*

8. —[*that neither sow'd nor spun.*] Alluding to Matt. vi. 26, 28. *they sow not, neither do they spin.*

13. The close of this Sonnet is perfectly in the style of Horace and the Grecian lyrics. As is that of the following to Cyriac Skinner. *T. Warton.*

\* Cyriac Skinner was the son of William Skinner, Esq. and grandson of Sir Vincent Skinner, and his mother was Bridget, one of the daughters of the famous Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Mr. Wood informs us, that he was one of Harrington's political club, and sometimes held the chair; and farther adds, that he was a merchant's son of London,

Pronounc'd and in his volumes taught our laws,  
 Which others at their bar so often wrench;  
 To day deep thoughts resolve with me to drench 5  
 In mirth, that after no repenting draws;  
 Let Euclid rest and Archimedes pause,  
 And what the Swede intends, and what the French.

an ingenious young gentleman, and scholar to John Milton. Athen. Ox. vol. ii. p. 591. No wonder then that Milton was so intimate with him, and has addressed two Sonnets to him, this first of which was printed in the edition of 1673. *Newton.*

I find one Cyriac Skinner, I know not if the same, a member of Trinity College, Oxford, in 1640. In 1659-60, Milton published "A ready and easy way to establish a free Commonwealth, &c." This was soon afterwards attacked in a burlesque pamphlet, pretended to be written by Harrington's club, under the title of "The censure of the *Rota* upon Mr. Milton's book entitled *The Ready and easy way, &c.* Lond. Printed by Paul Giddy, printer to the *Rota*, at the signe of the *Windmill* in *Turne againe Lane*, 1660." But Harrington's club, which encouraged all proposals for new models of government, was very unlikely to have made such an attack; and Milton's very familiar intimacy with Skinner, to whom he addresses two Sonnets, full of confidence and affection, was alone sufficient to have prevented any remonstrance from that quarter. Aubrey says, that Milton's *Idea Theologiæ* in manuscript is "in the hands of Mr. Skinner, a

"merchant's son in Mark-Lane. *Mem.* There was one Mr. Skinner of the Jerker's office "up two pair of stayres at the Custom-house." MS. Ashmol. ut infr. Milton's pamphlet was also answered in the "Dignity of Kingship asserted: in answer to Mr. Milton's *Ready and easie way &c.* by G. S. a lover of Loyalty. London, Pr. by E. C. for H. Saile, &c. 1660." 12mo. It is a weak performance. In the Dedication to Charles the Second, the author says, "the King's murther, and all its concomitant iniquities, were extenuated, ex-tolled, and justified, by one Mr. John Milton." I have also a pamphlet before me, "A Letter to Mr. Evclyn on the Constitution of the House of Commons." G. S. is written into the title as the author's name, who is called an ejected member of the House of Commons. I think he is not the same. *T. Warton.*

6. *In mirth, that after no repenting draws.*] This is the decent mirth of Martial,

Nox non ebria, sed soluta curia.  
*T. Warton.*

8. *And what the Swede intends,*] We have printed it as it is in the Manuscript. In the first edition it was, *And what the Swede intend,*

To measure life learn thou betimes, and know  
 Toward solid good what leads the nearest way;  
 For other things mild Heav'n a time ordains,  
 And disapproves that care, though wise in show,  
 That with superfluous burden loads the day,  
 And when God sends a cheerful hour, refrains.

## XXII.

*To the same.\**

CYRIAC, this three years day these eyes, though clear,  
 To outward view, of blemish or of spot,  
 Bereft of light their seeing have forgot,  
 Nor to their idle orbs doth sight appear  
 Of sun, or moon, or star throughout the year,  
 Or man, or woman. Yet I argue not  
 Against Heav'n's hand or will, nor bate a jot  
 Of heart or hope; but still bear up and steer

which in others is altered to *And what the Swedes intend*. Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, was at this time waging war with Poland, and the French with the Spaniards in the Netherlands: and what Milton says is somewhat in the spirit and manner of Horace. Od. ii. xi. 1.

*Quid bellicosus Cantaber, et Scythes  
 Hirpine Quinti, cogitet, Hadria  
 Divisus objecto, remittas  
 Querere: &c.*

\* The two Sonnets to Cyriac Skinner we have printed in the same order as they are numbered in the Manuscript. This latter was never printed in Milton's lifetime, but was first published several years after his death at the same time and in the same manner with the foregoing ones

to General Fairfax, Cromwell, and Sir Henry Vane: and though the person, to whom it is addressed, was not so obnoxious as any of those before mentioned, yet it might not have been safe for Milton to have published such a commendation of his Defence of the people, which the government had ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. In the printed editions this Sonnet likewise is very incorrect, but we shall restore it by the assistance of the Manuscript.

7. *Against heav'n's hand &c.*  
 It was at first in the Manuscript *God's hand*: and one *jot* in the printed copies is a *jot* in the Manuscript.

8. —*but still bear up and steer*

Right onward. What supports me, dost thou ask?

The conscience, Friend, to' have lost them overplied

In liberty's defence, my noble task, 11

Of which all Europe talks from side to side,

*Right onward.*] In the Manuscript it was at first,

—but still attend to steer  
Uphillward.

8. One of Milton's characteristics was a singular fortitude of mind, arising from a consciousness of superior abilities, and a conviction that his cause was just. See Sonnet. vi. 4 where he describes the heart which he presents to Leonora,

—Io certo a prove tante  
L'hebbi fedele, intrepido, costante,  
&c.

But he concludes, with great elegance, writing to a lady, that it was not proof against love. *T. Warton.*

9. *Right onward.*] On this expression Mr. Harris, in his notes on the Treatise on Happiness, observes, p. 306. "One would imagine that our great countryman Milton had the reasoning of Marcus Antoninus in view. L. v. s. 5. where in this Sonnet, speaking of his own blindness, he says with a becoming magnanimity, yet I argue not, &c. The whole Sonnet is not unworthy of perusal, being both simple and sublime." *Dr. J. Warton.*

10. When he was employed to answer Salmasius, one of his eyes was almost gone; and the physicians predicted the loss of both if he proceeded. But he says, in answer to Du Moulin, "I did not long balance whether my duty should be pre-

ferred to my eyes." *T. Warton.*  
10. See note on *Comus*, 309.

10. —*my noble task.*] In a Letter to Oldenburgh he says, "Ad alia ut me parem, nescio sane an nobiliora et utiliora. Quid enim in rebus humanis asserenda Libertate nobilior aut utilius esse potest?" But he adds, with less triumph than in this Sonnet, about his blindness, "siquidem per valetudinem, et hanc luninem, orbitatem licu-erit." *Pr. W. ii. 574.* This Sonnet was not written before 1651, when the *Defensio* appeared. *T. Warton.*

12. *Of which all Europe talks from side to side, &c.*] In the printed copies these lines are thus,

*Whereof all Europe rings from side to side.*

This thought might lead me through  
this world's vain mask  
Content though blind, had I no other  
guide.

The Manuscript has the advantage over the printed editions, unless *rings* may be thought better than *talks from side to side*. There is something very pleasing, as well as very noble, in this conscious virtue and magnanimity of a great poet: and for the same reason no part of Mr. Pope's works affords greater pleasure than what he says of himself and his writings, especially in his imitation of the first Satire of Horace, and in his Satires intitled from the year 1738:



This thought might lead me through the world's vain  
mask

Content though blind, had I no better guide.

## XXIII.

*On his deceased WIFE.\**

Methought I saw my late espoused saint  
Brought to the like Alcestis from the grave,  
Whom Jove's great son to her glad husband gave,  
Rescued from death by force, though pale and faint.

\* This was his second wife Catharine the daughter of Captain Woodcock of Hackney, who lived with him not above a year after their marriage, and died in childbed of a daughter.

1. *Methought I saw my late espoused saint, &c.*] Raleigh's elegant sonnet, called a "Vision upon the concept of the Faerie Queene," begins thus,

Methought I saw the grave where  
Laura lay.

And hence perhaps the idea of a sonnet in the form of a vision was suggested to Milton.

This Sonnet was written about the year 1656. *T. Warton.*

2. —*like Alcestis from the grave, &c.*] Alcestis was the wife of Admetus king of Thessaly, who being dangerously ill obtained by the means of Apollo, that he should recover, if any body else would die in his stead. His wife voluntarily offered herself, but Hercules intervening rescued her from death, and brought her back again to her husband. Our author borrows the allusion from a play of Euripides called *Alcestis*.

2. Dr. Johnson calls this a

poor sonnet. Perhaps he was not struck with this fine allusion to Euripides. *T. Warton.*

The last scene of the *Alcestis* of Euripides, our author's favourite writer, to which he alludes in this passage, is remarkably pathetic; particularly at v. 1155.

Ω φίλτατος γυναικὶς ἄρμα, &c.

And all that follows on Admetus's discovering that it was his wife whom Hercules had brought to him covered with a veil. And equally tender and pathetic is the passage in the first Act, which describes Alcestis taking leave of her family and house, when she had resolved to die to save her husband: particularly from v. 175. to v. 196. Thompson closely copied this passage in his *Edward and Eleonora*. I have wondered, that Addison, who has made so many observations on the allegory of Sin and Death, in the *Paradise Lost*, did not recollect, that the person of Death was clearly and obviously taken from the Θάνατος of Euripides in this Tragedy of *Alcestis*. *Dr. J. Warton.*

Mine, as whom wash'd from spot of child-bed taint 5  
 Purification in the old Law did save,  
 And such, as yet once more I trust to have  
 Full sight of her in Heav'n without restraint,  
 Came vested all in white, pure as her mind:  
 Her face was veil'd, yet to my fancied sight 10  
 Love, sweetness, goodness, in her person shin'd  
 So clear, as in no face with more delight.  
 But O as to embrace me she inclin'd,  
 I wak'd, she fled, and day brought back my night.\*

13. *I wak'd, she fled, &c.*] So in Adam's dream, Par. Lost, viii. 478.

She disappear'd, and left me dark, I wak'd, &c.

This Sonnet therefore proves the improbability of Bentley's correction, who would substitute *straight* instead of *dark*. But perhaps Milton, in the text, yet with a conceit, alludes to his blindness, "day brought back *my night*." See much the same conceit in Sonn. xix. 7.

Doth God exact *day-labour*, *light* denied.

*T. Warton.*

\* These Sonnets are not without their merit: yet, if we except two or three, there is neither the grace nor exactness of Milton's hand in them. The sort of composition in our language is difficult to the best rhymist, and Milton was a very bad one.

Besides, his genius rises above, and, as we may say, overflows, the banks of this narrow confined poem, *pontem indignatus Araxes*. Hurd.

Birch has printed a Sonnet said to be written by Milton, in 1665, when he retired to Chalfont on account of the plague, and to have been lately seen inscribed on the glass of a window in that place. *Life*, p. xxxviii. It has the word *sheene* as a substantive. But Milton was not likely to commit a scriptural mistake. For the Sonnet improperly represents David as punished by a pestilence for his adultery with Bathsheba. Birch, however, had been informed by Vertue, that he had seen a satirical medal, struck upon Charles the Second, abroad, without any legend, having a correspondent device. *T. Warton.*

## PSALMS.

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PSALM I. *Done into verse, 1653.*

BLESS'D is the man who hath not walk'd astray  
In counsel of the wicked, and i' th' way  
Of sinners hath not stood, and in the seat  
Of scorers hath not sat. But in the great  
Jehovah's law is ever his delight, 5  
And in his law he studies day and night.  
He shall be as a tree which planted grows  
By wat'ry streams, and in his season knows  
To yield his fruit, and his leaf shall not fall,  
And what he takes in hand shall prosper all. 10  
Not so the wicked, but as chaff which fann'd  
The wind drives, so the wicked shall not stand  
In judgment, or abide their trial then,  
Nor sinners in th' assembly of just men.  
For the Lord knows th' upright way of the just, 15  
And the way of bad men to ruin must.

PSALM II. *Done Aug. 8. 1653. Terzette.*

WHY do the Gentiles tumult, and the nations  
Muse a vain thing, the kings of th' earth upstand  
With pow'r, and princes in their congregations  
Lay deep their plots together through each land

Against the Lord and his Messiah dear ? 5  
 Let us break off, say they, by strength of hand  
 Their bonds, and cast from us, no more to wear,  
 Their twisted cords : He who in Heav'n doth dwell  
 Shall laugh, the Lord shall scoff them, then severe  
 Speak to them in his wrath, and in his fell 10  
 And fierce ire trouble them ; but I, saith he,  
 Anointed have my King (though ye rebel)  
 On Sion my holy' hill. A firm decree  
 I will declare ; the Lord to me hath said  
 Thou art my Son, I have begotten thee 15  
 This day ; ask of me, and the grant is made ;  
 As thy possession I on thee bestow  
 Th' Heathen, and as thy conquest to be sway'd  
 Earth's utmost bounds : them shalt thou bring full low  
 With iron sceptre bruis'd, and them disperse 20  
 Like to a potter's vessel shiver'd so.  
 And now be wise at length ye Kings averse,  
 Be taught ye Judges of the earth ; with fear  
 Jehovah serve, and let your joy converse  
 With trembling ; kiss the Son lest he appear 25  
 In anger, and ye perish in the way,  
 If once his wrath take fire like fuel sere.  
 Happy all those who have him in their stay.

PSALM III. Aug. 9. 1653.

*When he fled from Absalom.*

LORD, how many are my foes !  
 How many those  
 That in arms against me rise !  
 Many are they

That of my life distrustfully thus say, 5  
 No help for him in God there lies.  
 But thou, Lord, art my shield, my glory  
 Thee through my story  
 Th' exalter of my head I count;  
 Aloud I cried 10  
 Unto Jehovah, he full soon replied  
 And heard me from his holy mount.  
 I lay and slept, I wak'd again,  
 For my sustain  
 Was the Lord. Of many millions 15  
 The populous rout  
 I fear not, though incamping round about  
 They pitch against me their pavilions.  
 Rise, Lord, save me my God, for thou  
 Hast smote ere now 20  
 On the cheek-bone all my foes,  
 Of men abhorr'd  
 Hast broke the teeth. This help was from the Lord;  
 Thy blessing on thy people flows.

PSALM IV. *Aug.* 10. 1653.

ANSWER me when I call,  
 God of my righteousness,  
 In straits and in distress  
 Thou didst me disenthral  
 And set at large; now spare, 5  
 Now pity me, and hear my earnest pray'r.  
 Great ones how long will ye  
 My glory have in scorn,  
 How long be thus forborne  
 Still to love vanity, 10

To love, to seek, to prize

Things false and vain, and nothing else but lies?

Yet know the Lord hath chose,

Chose to himself apart,

The good and meek of heart

15

(For whom to choose he knows)

Jehovah from on high

Will hear my voice what time to him I cry.

Be aw'd, and do not sin,

Speak to your hearts alone,

20

Upon your beds, each one,

And be at peace within.

Offer the offerings just

Of righteousness, and in Jehovah trust.

Many there be that say

25

Who yet will show us good?

Talking like this world's brood;

But, Lord, thus let me pray,

On us lift up the light

Lift up the favour of thy count'nance bright.

30

Into my heart more joy

And gladness thou hast put,

Than when a year of glut

Their stores doth over-cloy,

And from their plenteous grounds

35

With vast increase their corn and wine abounds.

In peace at once will I

Both lay me down and sleep,

For thou alone dost keep,

Me safe where'er I lie;

40

As in a rocky cell

Thou, Lord, alone in safety mak'st me dwell.

PSALM V. *Aug. 12. 1653.*

JEHOVAH, to my words give ear,  
My meditation weigh,  
The voice of my complaining hear  
My King and God; for unto thee I pray.  
Jehovah, thou my early voice 5  
Shalt in the morning hear,  
I' th' morning I to thee with choice  
Will rank my pray'rs, and watch till thou appear.  
For thou art not a God that takes  
In wickedness delight, 10  
Evil with thee no biding makes,  
Fools or mad men stand not within thy sight.  
All workers of iniquity  
Thou hat'st; and them unblest  
Thou wilt destroy that speak a lie; 15  
The bloody' and guileful man God doth detest.  
But I will in thy mercies dear  
Thy numerous mercies go  
Into thy house; I in thy fear  
Will tow'rds thy holy temple worship low. 20  
Lord, lead me in thy righteousness,  
Lead me because of those  
That do observe if I transgress,  
Set thy ways right before, where my step goes.  
For in his falt'ring mouth unstable 25  
No word is firm or sooth;  
Their inside, troubles miserable;  
An open grave their throat, their tongue they smooth;  
God, find them guilty, let them fall  
By their own counsels quell'd; 30

Push them in their rebellions all  
 Still on ; for against thee they have rebell'd.  
 Then all who trust in thee shall bring  
 Their joy, while thou from blame  
 Defend'st them, they shall ever sing 35  
 And shall triumph in thee, who love thy name.  
 For thou Jehovah wilt be found  
 To bless the just man still,  
 As with a shield thou wilt surround  
 Him with thy lasting favour and good will. 40

PSALM VI. *Aug.* 13. 1653.

**LORD**, in thine anger do not reprehend me  
 Nor in thy hot displeasure me correct ;  
 Pity me, Lord, for I am much deject ;  
 And very weak and faint ; heal and amend me :  
 For all my bones, that ev'n with anguish ache, 5  
 Are troubled, yea my soul is troubled sore,  
 And thou, O Lord, how long ? turn Lord, restore  
 My soul, O save me for thy goodness sake :  
 For in death no remembrance is of thee ;  
 Who in the grave can celebrate thy praise ? 10  
 Wearied I am with sighing out my days,  
 Nightly my couch I make a kind of sea ;  
 My bed I water with my tears ; mine eye  
 Through grief consumes, is waxen old and dark  
 I' th' midst of all mine enemies that mark. 15  
 Depart all ye that work iniquity,  
 Depart from me, for the voice of my weeping  
 The Lord hath heard, the Lord hath heard my pray'r,  
 My supplication with acceptance fair  
 The Lord will own, and have me in his keeping. 20



Mine enemies shall all be blank and dash'd  
 With much confusion ; then grown red with shame,  
 They shall return in haste the way they came,  
 And in a moment shall be quite abash'd.

PSALM VII. *Aug. 14. 1653.\**

*Upon the words of Chush the Benjamite against him.*

LORD my God, to thee I fly,  
 Save me and secure me under  
 Thy protection while I cry,  
 Lest as a lion (and no wonder)  
 He haste to tear my soul asunder, 5  
 Tearing and no rescue nigh.

Lord my God, if I have thought  
 Or done this, if wickedness  
 Be in my hands, if I have wrought  
 Ill to him that meant me peace, 10  
 Or to him have render'd less,  
 And not freed my foe for nought ;

Let th' enemy pursue my soul  
 And overtake it, let him tread  
 My life down to the earth, and roll 15

21. *Mine enemies shall all be  
 blank and dash'd  
 With much confusion :]  
 Blank, as in Comus, 452.*

And noble grace that dash'd brute  
 violence  
 With sudden adoration, and blank awe.  
*T. Warton.*

Compare P. L. ix. 888.

—Adam, soon as he heard  
 The fatal trespass done by Eve,  
 amaz'd,  
 Astonied stood and blank.

*E.*

\* This is a very pleasing  
 stanza, which I do not elsewhere  
 recollect. *T. Warton.*

In the dust my glory dead,  
In the dust and there out-spread  
Lodge it with dishonour foul.

Rise, Jehovah, in thine ire,  
Rouse thyself amidst the rage  
Of my foes that urge like fire ;  
And wake for me, their fury' assuage ;  
Judgment here thou didst engage  
And command which I desire.

20

So th' assemblies of each nation  
Will surround thee, seeking right,  
Thence to thy glorious habitation  
Return on high and in their sight.  
Jehovah judgeth most upright  
All people from the world's foundation.

25

30

Judge me, Lord, be judge in this  
According to my righteousness,  
And the innocence which is  
Upon me: cause at length to cease  
Of evil men the wickedness  
And their pow'r that do amiss.

35

But the just establish fast,  
Since thou art the just God that tries  
Hearts and reins. On God is cast  
My defence, and in him lies,  
In him who both just and wise  
Saves th' upright of heart at last.

40

God is a just judge and severe,  
 And God is every day offended ;  
 If the unjust will not forbear,  
 His sword he whets, his bow hath bended  
 Already, and for him intended  
 The tools of death, that waits him near.

45

(His arrows purposely made he  
 For them that persecute.) Behold  
 He travels big with vanity,  
 Trouble he hath conceiv'd of old  
 As in a womb, and from that mould  
 Hath at length brought forth a lie.

50

He digg'd a pit, and delv'd it deep,  
 And fell into the pit he made ;  
 His mischief that due course doth keep,  
 Turns on his head, and his ill trade  
 Of violence will undelay'd  
 Fall on his crown with ruin steep.

55

60

Then will I Jehovah's praise  
 According to his justice raise,  
 And sing the Name and Deity  
 Of Jehovah the most high.

55. —and *delv'd it deep,*] was once a *delve*. Spenser, F.  
*Delve* was not now obsolete. Q. ii. viii. 4.  
 So, On the Death of a fair In- Which to that shady *delve* him  
 fant, v. 32. brought at last.

Hid from the world in a low-*delved* And in Jonson. But Spenser  
 tomb. has also *dell*. T. Warton.

What is now a *dell*, an open pit,

PSALM VIII. *Aug. 14. 1653.*

O JEHOVAH our Lord, how wondrous great  
 And glorious is thy name through all the earth!  
 So as above the Heav'ns thy praise to set  
 Out of the tender mouths of latest birth.

Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou 5  
 Hast founded strength because of all thy foes,  
 To stint th' enemy, and slack th' avenger's brow,  
 That bends his rage thy providence to' oppose.

When I behold thy heav'ns, thy fingers art,  
 The moon and stars which thou so bright hast set 10  
 In the pure firmament, then saith my heart,  
 O what is man that thou rememb'rest yet,

And think'st upon him ; or of man begot  
 That him thou visit'st, and of him art found ?  
 Scarce to be less than Gods, thou mad'st his lot, 15  
 With honour and with state thou hast him crown'd.

O'er the works of thy hand thou mad'st him, Lord,  
 Thou hast put all under his lordly feet,  
 All flocks, and herds, by thy commanding word,  
 All beasts that in the field or forest meet, 20

Fowl of the heav'ns, and fish that through the wet  
 Sea paths in shoals do slide, and know no dearth.  
 O Jehovah our Lord, how wondrous great  
 And glorious is thy name through all the earth !

7. *To stint th' enemy, and slack* syllable of *Enemy*. See also  
*th' avenger's brow,*] Here is a above, Ps. v. 16. Ps. vii. 22. T.  
 most violent cesure in the last Warton.

*April, 1648. J. M.*

Nine of the Psalms done into metre, wherein all, but what is in a different character, are the very words of the text, translated from the original.

PSALM LXXX.

- 1 **THOU** Shepherd that dost Israel *keep*  
Give ear *in time of need*,  
Who leadest like a flock of sheep  
*Thy loved* Joseph's seed,  
That sitt'st between the Cherubs *bright*,  
*Between their wings out-spread*,  
Shine forth, *and from thy cloud give light*,  
*And on our foes thy dread.* 5
- 2 In Ephraim's view and Benjamin's,  
And in Manasses' sight, 10  
Awake \* thy strength, come, and *be seen*  
To save us *by thy might*.
- 3 Turn us again, *thy grace divine*  
To us, O God, *vouchsafe* ; 15  
Cause thou thy face on us to shine,  
And then we shall be safe.
- 4 Lord God of Hosts, how long wilt thou,  
How long wilt thou declare  
Thy \* smoking wrath, *and angry brow*  
Against thy people's prayer ! 20
- 5 Thou feed'st them with the bread of tears,  
Their bread with tears they eat,  
And mak'st them \* largely drink the tears  
*Wherewith their cheeks are wet.*

\* Gnora.

<sup>b</sup> Gnashanta.

<sup>c</sup> Shalish.

- 6 A strife thou mak'st us *and a prey* 25  
 To every neighbour foe,  
 Among themselves they <sup>d</sup> laugh, they <sup>d</sup> play,  
 And <sup>d</sup> flouts at us they throw.
- 7 Return us, *and thy grace divine,*  
 O God of Hosts, *vouchsafe,* 30  
 Cause thou thy face on us to shine,  
 And then we shall be safe.
- 8 A vine from Egypt thou hast brought,  
*Thy free love made it thine,*  
 And drov'st out nations, *proud and haut,* 35  
 To plant this *lovely* vine.
- 9 Thou didst prepare for it a place,  
 And root it deep and fast,  
 That it *began to grow apace,*  
*And fill'd the land at last.* 40
- 10 With her *green* shade that cover'd *all,*  
 The hills were *over-spread,*  
 Her boughs as *high as* cedars tall  
*Advanc'd their lofty head.*
- 11 Her branches *on the western side* 45  
 Down to the sea she sent,  
 And *upward* to that river *wide*  
 Her other branches *went.*
- 12 Why hast thou laid her hedges low,  
 And broken down her fence, 50  
 That all may pluck her, as they go,  
*With rudest violence?*

<sup>d</sup> Jilnagu.

35. *Proud and haut.*] Com. 33. "*proud in arms.*" *Haut.* Fr.  
 "An old, and *haughty* nation" T. Warton.

- 13 The *tusked* boar out of the wood  
Up turns it by the roots,  
Wild beasts there browse, and make their food 55  
*Her grapes and tender shoots.*
- 14 Return now, God of Hosts, look down  
From Heav'n, thy seat divine,  
Behold *us, but without a frown,*  
And visit this *thy* vine. 60
- 15 Visit this vine, which thy right hand  
Hath set, and planted *long,*  
And the young branch, that for thyself  
Thou hast made firm and strong.
- 16 But now it is consum'd with fire, 65  
And cut *with axes* down,  
They perish at thy dreadful ire,  
At thy rebuke and frown.
- 17 Upon the man of thy right hand  
Let thy *good* hand be *laid,* 70  
Upon the son of man, whom thou  
Strong for thyself hast made.
- 18 So shall we not go back from thee  
*To ways of sin and shame,*  
Quicken us thou, then *gladly* we 75  
Shall call upon thy Name.
- 19 Return us, *and thy grace divine*  
Lord God of Hosts *vouchsafe,*  
Cause thou thy face on us to shine,  
And then we shall be safe. 80

## PSALM LXXXI.

- 1 **TO** God our strength sing loud, *and clear,*  
     Sing loud to God *our King,*  
     To Jacob's God, *that all may hear,*  
     Loud acclamations ring.
- 2 Prepare a hymn, prepare a song, 5  
     The timbrel hither bring,  
     The *cheerful* psaltry bring along,  
     And harp *with pleasant string.*
- 3 Blow, *as is wont,* in the new moon 10  
     With trumpets' *lofty sound,*  
     Th' appointed time, the day whereon  
     Our solemn feast *comes round.*
- 4 This was a statute *giv'n of old*  
     For Israel *to observe,*  
     A law of Jacob's God, *to hold,* 15  
     *From whence they might not swerve.*
- 5 This he a testimony ordain'd  
     In Joseph, *not to change,*  
     When as he pass'd through Egypt land;  
     The tongue I heard was strange. 20
- 6 From burden, *and from slavish toil*  
     I set his shoulder free:  
     His hands from pots, *and miry soil,*  
     Deliver'd were *by me.*
- 7 When trouble did thee sore assail, 25  
     *On me then* didst thou call,  
     And I to free thee *did not fail,*  
     *And led thee out of thrall.*



- I answered thee in \* thunder deep  
 With clouds encompass'd round; 30  
 I tried thee at the water steep  
 Of Meribah *renown'd*.
- 8 Hear, O my people, *hearken well*,  
 I testify to thee,  
*Thou ancient stock of Israel*, 35  
 If thou wilt list to me,
- 9 Throughout the land of thy abode  
 No alien God shall be,  
 Nor shalt thou to a foreign God  
 In honour bend thy knee. 40
- 10 I am the Lord thy God which brought  
 Thee out of Egypt land;  
 Ask large enough, and I, *besought*,  
 Will grant thy full demand.
- 11 And yet my people would not *hear*, 45  
*Nor* hearken to my voice;  
 And Israel, *whom I lov'd so dear*,  
 Mislik'd me for his choice.
- 12 Then did I leave them to their will,  
 And to their wand'ring mind; 50  
 Their own conceits they follow'd still,  
 Their own devices blind.
- 13 O that my people would *be wise*,  
*To serve me all their days*,  
 And O that Israel would *advise* 55  
*To walk my righteous ways*.
- 14 Then would I soon bring down their foes,  
*That now so proudly rise*,

\* Be Sether regnam.

- And turn my hand against *all those*  
*That are their enemies.* 60
- 15 Who hate the Lord should *then be fain*  
*To bow to him and bend,*  
*But they, his people, should remain,*  
*Their time should have no end.*
- 16 And he would feed them *from the shock* 65  
*With flow'r of finest wheat,*  
*And satisfy them from the rock*  
*With honey for their meat.*

## PSALM LXXXII.

- 1 GOD in the \* great \* assembly stands  
*Of kings and lordly states,*  
*'Among the Gods, ' on both his hands*  
*He judges and debates.*
- 2 How long will ye \* pervert the right 5  
*With \* judgment false and wrong,*  
*Favouring the wicked by your might,*  
*Who thence grow bold and strong ?*
- 3 <sup>h</sup> Regard the <sup>h</sup> weak and fatherless,  
<sup>h</sup> Dispatch the <sup>h</sup> poor man's cause, 10  
*And ' raise the man in deep distress*  
*By ' just and equal laws.*
- 4 Defend the poor and desolate,  
*And rescue from the hands*  
*Of wicked men the low estate* 15  
*Of him that help demands.*

\* Bagnadath-el.

' Bekcrev.

\* Tishphetu gnavel.

<sup>h</sup> Shiphtu-dal.

' Hatzdiku.

- 5 They know not, nor will understand,  
 In darkness they walk on,  
 The earth's foundations all are <sup>k</sup> mov'd,  
 And <sup>k</sup> out of order gone. 20
- 6 I said that ye were Gods, yea all  
 The sons of God most high ;
- 7 But ye shall die like men, and fall  
 As other princes *die*.
- 8 Rise God, <sup>l</sup> judge thou the earth *in might*, 25  
 This *wicked* earth <sup>l</sup> redress,  
 For thou art he who shalt by right  
 The nations all possess.

## PSALM LXXXIII.

- 1 **BE** not thou silent *now at length*,  
 O God, hold not thy peace,  
 Sit thou not still, O God of *strength*,  
*We cry, and do not cease*.
- 2 For, lo, thy *furious* foes *now* <sup>m</sup> swell, 5  
 And <sup>m</sup> storm outrageously,  
 And they that hate thee *proud and fell*  
 Exalt their heads full high.
- 3 Against thy people they <sup>n</sup> contrive  
<sup>\*o</sup> Their plots and counsels deep, 10  
<sup>p</sup> Them to insnare they chiefly strive,  
<sup>q</sup> Whom thou dost hide and keep.
- 4 Come let us cut them off, say they,  
 Till they no nation be,

<sup>k</sup> Jimmotu.<sup>l</sup> Shiphth.<sup>m</sup> Jehemajun.<sup>n</sup> Jagnarimu.<sup>\*o</sup> Sod.<sup>p</sup> Jirthjagnatsu gnal.<sup>q</sup> Tsephuneca.

- That Israel's name for ever may  
Be lost in memory. 15
- 5 For they consult \* with all their might,  
And all as one in mind  
Themselves against thee they unite,  
And in firm union bind. 20
- 6 The tents of Edom, and the brood  
Of scornful Ishmael,  
Moab, with them of Hagar's blood,  
That in the desert dwell,
- 7 Gebal and Ammon there conspire, 25  
And hateful Amalec,  
The Philistines, and they of Tyre,  
Whose bounds the sea doth check.
- 8 With them great Ashur also bands  
And doth confirm the knot ; 30  
All these have lent their armed hands  
To aid the sons of Lot.
- 9 Do to them as to Midian bold,  
That wasted all the coast,  
To Sisera, and as is told 35  
Thou didst to Jabin's host,  
When at the brook of Kishon old  
They were repuls'd and slain,
- 10 At Endor quite cut off, and roll'd 40  
As dung upon the plain.
- 11 As Zeb and Oreb evil sped,  
So let their princes speed,

\* Lev jachdau.

21. —brood.] Race. So above, And Ode F. Inf. "That heavenly  
Ps. iv. 27. "This world's brood." "brood." T. Warton.

- As Zeba, and Zalmunna *bled*,  
 So let their princes *bleed*.
- 12 *For they amidst their pride* have said, 45  
 By right now shall we seize  
 God's houses, and *will now invade*  
 \* Their stately palaces.
- 13 My God, oh make them as a wheel,  
*No quiet let them find*, 50  
 Giddy and *restless* let *them reel*  
 Like stubble from the wind.
- 14 As *when* an *aged* wood takes fire  
*Which on a sudden strays*,  
 The *greedy* flame runs higher and higher 55  
 Till all the mountains blaze,
- 15 So with thy whirlwind them pursue,  
 And with thy tempest chase ;
- 16 \* And till they \* yield thee honour due;  
 Lord, fill with shame their face. 60
- 17 Asham'd, and troubled let them be,  
 Troubled and sham'd for ever,  
 Ever confounded, and so die  
 With shame, *and scape it never*.
- 18 Then shall they know that thou, whose name 65  
 Jehovah is alone,  
 Art the most high, *and thou the same*  
 O'er all the earth *art one*.

## PSALM LXXXIV.

- 1 **HOW** lovely are thy dwellings fair !  
 O Lord of Hosts, how dear

\* Neoth Elohim bears both.    \* They seek thy name. *Heb.*

- The *pleasant* tabernacles are,  
*Where thou dost dwell so near !*
- 2 My soul doth long and almost die 5  
 Thy courts, O Lord, to see,  
 My heart and flesh aloud do cry,  
 O living God, for thee.
- 3 There ev'n the sparrow *freed from wrong*  
 Hath found a house of *rest*, 10  
 The swallow there, to lay her young  
 Hath built her *brooding* nest,  
 Ev'n by thy altars, Lord of Hosts,  
*They find their safe abode,*  
*And home they fly from round the coasts* 15  
*Toward thee, my King, my God.*
- 4 Happy, who in thy house reside,  
 Where thee they ever praise,
- 5 Happy, whose strength in thee doth bide,  
 And in their hearts thy ways. 20
- 6 They pass through Baca's *thirsty* vale,  
*That dry and barren ground,*  
 As through a fruitful wat'ry dale  
 Where springs and show'rs abound.
- 7 They journey on from strength to strength 25  
*With joy and gladsome cheer,*  
*Till all before our God at length*  
 In Sion do appear.
- 8 Lord God of Hosts, hear *now* my prayer,  
 O Jacob's God give ear, 30
- 9 Thou God our shield look on the face  
 Of thy anointed *dear*.
- 10 For one day in thy courts *to be*  
 Is better, *and more blest,*

Than *in the joys of vanity*

35

A thousand days *at best.*

I in the temple of my God

Had rather keep a door,

Than dwell in tents, *and rich abode,*

With sin *for evermore.*

40

11 For God the Lord both sun and shield

Gives grace and glory *bright,*

No good from them shall be withheld

Whose ways are just and right.

12 Lord God of Hosts *that reign'st on high,*

45

That man is *truly* blest,

Who *only* on thee doth rely,

And in thee only rest.

## PSALM LXXXV.

1 **THY** land to favour graciously

Thou hast not Lord been slack,

Thou hast from *hard* captivity

Returned Jacob back.

2 Th' iniquity thou didst forgive

5

*That wrought* thy people woe,

And all their sin, *that did thee grieve,*

Hast hid *where none shall know.*

3 Thine anger all thou hadst remov'd,

And *calmly* didst return

10

From thy <sup>u</sup> fierce wrath which we had prov'd

Far worse than fire to burn.

<sup>u</sup> *Heb.* The burning heat of thy wrath.

- 4 God of our saving health and peace,  
 Turn us, and us restore,  
 Thine indignation cause to cease 15  
 Toward us, *and chide no more.*
- 5 Wilt thou be angry without end,  
 For ever angry thus,  
 Wilt thou thy frowning ire extend  
 From age to age on us? 20
- 6 Wilt thou not ' turn, and *hear our voice,*  
 And us again ' revive,  
 That so thy people may rejoice  
 By thee preserv'd alive.
- 7 Cause us to see thy goodness, Lord, 25  
 To us thy mercy shew,  
 Thy saving health to us afford,  
*And life in us renew.*
- 8 *And now* what God the Lord will speak,  
 I will *go strait and* hear, 30  
 For to his people he speaks peace,  
 And to his saints *full dear,*  
 To his dear saints he will speak peace,  
 But let them never more  
 Return to folly, *but surcease* 35  
*To trespass as before.*
- 9 Surely to such as do him fear  
 Salvation is at hand,  
 And glory shall *ere long appear*  
*To dwell within our land.* 40
- 10 Mercy and Truth *that long were miss'd*  
 Now *joyfully* are met,

' *Heb.* turn to quicken us.



*Sweet Peace and Righteousness have kiss'd,  
And hand in hand are set.*

- 11 Truth from the earth, *like to a flow'r*, 45  
Shall bud and blossom *then*,  
And Justice from her heav'nly bow'r  
Look down *on mortal men*.
- 12 The Lord will also then bestow  
Whatever thing is good, 50  
Our land shall forth in plenty throw  
Her fruits *to be our food*.
- 13 Before him Righteousness shall go  
*His royal harbinger*,  
Then \* will he come, and not be slow, 55  
His footsteps cannot err.

## PSALM LXXXVI.

- 1 **THY** *gracious* ear, O Lord, incline,  
O hear me *I thee pray*,  
For I am poor, and almost pine  
With need, *and sad decay*.
- 2 Preserve my soul, for ' I have trod. 5  
Thy ways, and love the just,  
Save thou thy servant, O my God,  
Who *still* in thee doth trust.
- 3 Pity me, Lord, for daily thee  
I call ; 4. O make rejoice 10  
Thy servant's soul ; for, Lord, to thee  
I lift my soul *and voice*.

\* *Heb.* He will set his steps to the way.

' *Heb.* I am good, loving a doer of good and holy things.

- 5 For thou art good, thou, Lord, art prone  
To pardon, thou to all  
Art full of mercy, thou *alone* 15  
To them that on thee call.
- 6 Unto my supplication, Lord,  
Give ear, and to the cry  
Of my *incessant* pray'rs afford  
Thy hearing graciously. 20
- 7 I in the day of my distress  
Will call on thee *for aid*;  
For thou wilt *grant* me *free access*,  
*And answer what I pray'd.*
- 8 Like thee among the Gods is none, 25  
O Lord, nor any works  
*Of all that other Gods have done*  
Like to thy *glorious* works.
- 9 The nations all whom thou hast made  
Shall come, *and all shall frame* 30  
To bow them low before thee, Lord,  
And glorify thy name.
- 10 For great thou art, and wonders great  
By thy strong hand are done,  
Thou *in thy everlasting seat* 35  
Remainest God alone.
- 11 Teach me, O Lord, thy way *most right*,  
I in thy truth will bide,  
To fear thy name my heart unite,  
*So shall it never slide.* 40
- 12 Thee will I praise, O Lord my God,  
*Thee honour and adore*  
With my whole heart, and blaze abroad  
Thy name for evermore.

- 13 For great thy mercy is tow'rd me,  
 And thou hast freed my soul,  
 Ev'n from the lowest hell set free,  
*From deepest darkness foul.* 45
- 14 O God, the proud against me rise,  
 And violent men are met 50  
 To seek my life, and in their eyes  
 No fear of thee have set.
- 15 But thou, Lord, art the God most mild,  
 Readiest thy grace to shew,  
 Slow to be angry, and *art styl'd* 55  
 Most merciful, most true.
- 16 O turn to me *thy face at length*,  
 And me have mercy on,  
 Unto thy servant give thy strength,  
 And save thy handmaid's son. 60
- 17 Some sign of good to me afford,  
 And let my foes *then* see,  
 And be asham'd, because thou, Lord,  
 Dost help and comfort me.

## PSALM LXXXVII.

- 1 **AMONG** the holy mountains *high*  
 Is his foundation fast,  
*There seated is his sanctuary,*  
*His temple there is plac'd.*
- 2 Sion's *fair* gates the Lord loves more 5  
 Than all the dwellings *fair*  
 Of Jacob's *land*, *though there be store,*  
*And all within his care.*

- 3 City of God, most glorious things  
Of thee *abroad* are spoke; 10
- 4 I mention Egypt, *where proud kings*  
*Did our forefathers yoke.*
- I mention Babel to my friends,  
Philistia *full of scorn,*  
And Tyre with Ethiop's *utmost ends,* 15  
Lo this man there was born:
- 5 But *twice that praise shall in our ear*  
Be said of Sion *last,*  
This and this man was born in her,  
High God shall fix her fast. 20
- 6 The Lord shall write it in a scroll  
That ne'er shall be out-worn,  
When he the nations doth inroll,  
That this man there was born.
- 7 Both they who sing, and they who dance, 25  
*With sacred songs are there,*  
In thee *fresh brooks, and soft streams glance,*  
*And all my fountains clear.*

## PSALM LXXXVIII.

- 1 LORD God, that dost me save and keep,  
All day to thee I cry;  
And all night long before thee *weep,*  
Before thee *prostrate lie.*
- 2 Into thy presence let my pray'r 5  
*With sighs devout ascend,*  
And to my cries that *ceaseless are,*  
Thine ear with favour bend.

- 3 For cloy'd with woes and trouble store  
 Surcharg'd my soul doth lie, 10  
 My life *at death's uncheerful door*  
 Unto the grave draws nigh.
- 4 Reckon'd I am with them that pass  
 Down to the *dismal* pit,  
 I am a \*man, but weak alas, 13  
 And for that name unfit.
- 5 From life discharg'd and parted quite  
 Among the dead to *sleep*,  
 And like the slain *in bloody fight*  
 That in the grave lie *deep*. 20  
 Whom thou rememberest no more,  
 Dost never more regard,  
 Them from thy hand deliver'd o'er  
*Death's hideous house hath barr'd*.
- 6 Thou in the lowest pit *profound* 25  
 Hast set me *all forlorn*,  
 Where thickest darkness *hovers round*,  
 In horrid deeps to *mourn*.
- 7 Thy wrath, *from which no shelter saves*,  
 Full sore doth press on me ; 30  
 \* Thou break'st upon me all thy waves,  
 \* And all thy waves break me.
- 8 Thou dost my friends from me estrange,  
 And mak'st me odious,  
 Me to them odious, *for they change*, 35  
 And I here pent up thus.

\* *Heb.* A man without manly strength. \* The *Heb.* bears both.

9. —[*trouble store*] So edition Fenton, read *sore*. T. War-  
 1673. Tonson, Tickell, and ton.

- 9 Through sorrow, and affliction great,  
 Mine eye grows dim and dead,  
 Lord, all the day I thee intreat,  
 My hands to thee I spread. 40
- 10 Wilt thou do wonders on the dead,  
 Shall the deceas'd arise  
 And praise thee *from their loathsome bed*  
*With pale and hollow eyes?*
- 11 Shall they thy loving kindness tell 45  
 On whom the grave *hath hold*,  
 Or they who in perdition *dwell*,  
 Thy faithfulness *unfold?*
- 12 In darkness can thy mighty *hand*  
 Or wondrous acts be known, 50  
 Thy justice in the *gloomy* land  
 Of *dark* oblivion?
- 13 But I to thee, O Lord, do cry,  
*Ere yet my life be spent*,  
 And *up to thee* my pray'r doth *hie*, 55  
 Each morn, and thee prevent.
- 14 Why wilt thou, Lord, my soul forsake,  
 And hide thy face from me?
- 15 That am already bruise'd, and <sup>b</sup>shake 60  
 With terror sent from thee?  
 Bruise'd, and afflicted, and *so low*  
 As ready to expire,  
 While I thy terrors undergo  
 Astonish'd with thine ire.
- 16 Thy fierce wrath over me doth flow, 65  
 Thy threat'nings cut me through:

<sup>b</sup> Heb. Præ Concussione.

- 17 All day they round about me go,  
 Like waves they me pursue.
- 18 Lover and friend thou hast remov'd,  
 And sever'd from me far : 70
- They *fly me now* whom I have lov'd,  
 And as in darkness are.

*A Paraphrase on PSALM CXIV.\**

This and the following Psalm were done by the Author at fifteen years old.

WHEN the blest seed of Terah's faithful son  
 After long toil their liberty had won,  
 And pass'd from Pharian fields to Canaan land,  
 Led by the strength of the Almighty's hand,  
 Jehovah's wonders were in Israel shewn, 5  
 His praise and glory was in Israel known.  
 That saw the troubled sea, and shivering fled,  
 And sought to hide his froth-becurled head  
 Low in the earth; Jordan's clear streams recoil,  
 As a faint host that hath receiv'd the foil. 10  
 The high, huge-bellied mountains skip like rams  
 Amongst their ewes, the little hills like lambs.  
 Why fled the ocean? And why skipp'd the mountains?  
 Why turned Jordan tow'rd his crystal fountains?

\* This and the following Psalm are Milton's earliest performances. The first he afterwards translated into Greek. In the last are some very poetical expressions, The *golden-tressed sun*, God's *thunder-clasping hand*, the *moon's spangled sisters bright*, above the reach of mortal eye, &c.

I will here throw together some of the most striking stanzas in Milton's Psalms. T. Warton.

13. *Why fled the ocean? And why skipp'd the mountains?*] The original is weakened. The question should have been asked by an address, or an appeal, to the sea and mountains. T. Warton.

Shake, Earth, and at the presence be aghast 15  
 Of Him that ever was, and ay shall last,  
 That glassy floods from rugged rocks can crush,  
 And make soft rills from fiery flint-stones gush.

## PSALM CXXXVI.

LET us with a gladsome mind  
 Praise the Lord, for he is kind,  
     For his mercies ay indure,  
     Ever faithful, ever sure.  
 Let us blaze his name abroad, 5  
 For of Gods he is the God;  
     For his &c.  
 O let us his praises tell,  
 Who doth the wrathful tyrants quell. 10  
     For his &c.  
 Who with his miracles doth make  
 Amazed heav'n and earth to shake.  
     For his &c. 15  
 Who by his wisdom did create  
 The painted heav'ns so full of state.  
     For his &c. 20  
 Who did the solid earth ordain  
 To rise above the wat'ry plain.  
     For his &c.

17.—*glassy floods*] So Comus, 861.

Under the *glassy*, cool, translucent wave.

And Par. Lost, vii. 619.

On the clear hyaline, the *glassy* sea.  
 T. Warton.

22. ———*wat'ry plain*.] Pope, Windsor For. 146.

And pikes the tyrants of the *wat'ry* plains.

See note on Comus 429. T. Warton.



## PSALMS.

247

Who by his all-commanding might  
Did fill the new-made world with light.

25

For his &c.

And caus'd the golden-tressed sun,  
All the day long his course to run.

50

For his &c.

The horned moon to shine by night,  
Amongst her spangled sisters bright.

35

For his &c.

He with his thunder-clasping hand  
Smote the first-born of Egypt land.

40

For his &c.

And in despite of Pharaoh fell,  
He brought from thence his Israel.

For his &c.

The ruddy waves he cleft in twain  
Of the Erythræan main.

45

For his &c.

The floods stood still like walls of glass,  
While the Hebrew bands did pass.

50

For his &c.

But full soon they did devour  
The tawny king with all his power.

55

For his &c.

His chosen people he did bless  
In the wasteful wilderness.

60

For his &c.

58. *In the wasteful wilderness.*] See notes on Par. Reg. i. 7. *T. Warton.*

In bloody battle he brought down  
Kings of prowess and renown.

For his &c.

He foil'd bold Scon and his host,  
That rul'd the Amorrean coast.

65

For his &c.

And large-limb'd Og he did subdue,  
With all his over-hardy crew.

70

For his &c.

And to his servant Israel  
He gave their land therein to dwell.

For his &c.

75

He hath with a piteous eye  
Beheld us in our misery.

For his &c.

80

And freed us from the slavery  
Of the invading enemy.

For his &c.

All living creatures he doth feed,  
And with full hand supplies their need.

85

For his &c.

Let us therefore warble forth  
His mighty majesty and worth.

90

For his &c.

That his mansion hath on high  
Above the reach of mortal eye.

For his mercies ay indure,

95

Ever faithful, ever sure.

**JOANNIS MILTONI**

**LONDINENSIS**

**POEMATA.**

**QUORUM FLERAQUE INTRA ANNUM ÆTATIS VIGESIMUM  
CONSCRIPSIT.**



HÆC quæ sequuntur de Authore testimonia, tametsi ipse intelligebat non tam de se quam supra se esse dicta, eo quod præclaro ingenio viri, nec non amici ita fere solent laudare, ut omnia suis potius virtutibus, quam veritati congruentia nimis cupide affingant, noluit tamen horum egregiam in se voluntatem non esse notam; cum alii præsertim ut id faceret magnopere suaderent. Dum enim nimis laudis invidiam totis ab se viribus amolitur, sibi quod plus æquo est non attributum esse mavult, iudicium interim hominum cordatorum atque illustrium quin summo sibi honori ducat, negare non potest.

*Joannes Baptista Mansus, Marchio Villensis, Neapolitanus, ad Joannem Miltonium Anglum.*

UT mens, forma, decor, facies, mos, si pietas sic,  
Non Anglus, verum hercle Angelus ipse fores.

*Ad Joannem Miltonem Anglum triplici pœseos laurea coronandum, Græca nimirum, Latina, atque Hetrusca, Epigramma Joannis Salsilli Romani.*

CEDE Meles, cedat depressa Mincius urna;  
Sebetus Tassum desinat usque loqui;  
At Thamesis victor cunctis ferat altior undas,  
Nam per te, Milto, par tribus unus erit.

*Ad Joannem Miltonum.*

GRÆCIA Mæonidem, jactet sibi Roma Maronem,  
Anglia Miltonum jactat ntrique parem.

SELVAGGI.

*Al Signior Gio. Miltoni Nobile Inglese.*

ODE.

**ERGIMI** all' Etra ò Clio  
 Perche di stelle intreccierò corona  
 Non più del Biondo Dio  
 La Fronde eterna in Pindo, e in Elicona,  
 Diensi a merto maggior, maggiori i fregi,  
 A' celeste virtù celesti pregi.

Non puo del tempo edace  
 Rimaner preda, eterno alto valore  
 Non puo l' oblio rapace  
 Furar dalle memorie eccelso onore,  
 Su l' arco di mia cetra un dardo forte  
 Virtù m' adatti, e ferirò la morte.

Del Ocean profondo  
 Cinta dagli ampi gorgi Anglia resiede  
 Separata dal mondo,  
 Però che il suo valor l' umana eccede :  
 Questa feconda sà produrre Eroi,  
 Ch' hanno a ragion del sovrumano tra noi.

Alla virtù sbandita  
 Danno ne i petti lor fido ricetta,  
 Quella gli è sol gradita,  
 Perche in lei san trovar gioia, e diletto ;  
 Ridillo tu, Giovanni, e mostra in tanto  
 Con tua vera virtù, vero il mio Canto.

Lungi dal Patrio lido  
 Spinse Zeusi l' industrie ardente brama ;  
 Ch' udio d' Helena il grido  
 Con aurea tromba rimbombar la fama,  
 E per poterla effigiare al paro  
 Dalle più belle Idee trasse il più raro.

Così l'Ape Ingegnosa  
 Trae con industria il suo liquor pregiato  
 Dal giglio e dalla rosa,  
 E quanti vaghi fiori ornano il prato ;  
 Formano un dolce suon diverse Chorde,  
 Fan varie voci melodia concorde.

Di bella gloria amenta  
 Milton dal Ciel natio per varie parti  
 Le peregrine piante  
 Volgesti a ricercar scienze, ed arti ;  
 Del Gallo regnator vedesti i Regni,  
 E dell' Italia ancor gl' Eroi più degni.

Fabro quasi divino  
 Sol virtù rintracciando il tuo pensiero  
 Vide in ogni confino  
 Chi di nobil valor calca il sentiero ;  
 L'ottimo dal miglior dopo scegliea  
 Per fabbricar d' ogni virtù l' Idea.

Quanti nacquero in Flora  
 O in lei del parlar Tosco appreser l' arte,  
 La cui memoria onora  
 Il mondo fatta eterna in dotte carte,

Volesti ricercar per tuo tesoro,  
E parlasti con lor nell' opre loro.

Nell' altera Babelle  
Per te il parlar confuse Giove in vano,  
Che per varie favelle  
Di se stessa trofeo cadde su'l piano :  
Ch' Ode oltr' all' Anglia il suo piu degno Idioma  
Spagna, Francia, Toscana, e Grecia, e Roma.

I piu profondi arcani  
Ch' occulta la natura e in cielo e in terra  
Ch' à Ingegni sovrumani  
Tropo avaro tal' hor gli chiude, e serra,  
Chiaramente conosci, e giungi al fine  
Della moral virtude al gran confine.

Non batta il Tempo l' ale,  
Fermisi immoto, e in un fermin si gl' anni,  
Che di virtù immortale  
Scorron di troppo ingiuriosi a i danni ;  
Che s' opre degne di Poema o storia  
Furon gia, l'hai presenti alla memoria.

Dammi tua dolce Cetra  
Se vuoi ch' io dica del tuo dolce canto,  
Ch' inalzandoti all' Etra  
Di farti huomo celeste ottiene il vanto,  
Il Tamigi il dirà che gl' e concesso  
Per te suo cigno parreggiar Permesso.



Io o che in riva del Arno  
 Tento spiegar tuo merto alto, e preclaro  
 So che faticò indarno,  
 E ad ammirar, non a lodarlo imparo;  
 Freno dunque la lingua, e ascolto il core  
 Che ti prende a lodar con lo stupore\*.

Del sig. ANTONIO FRANCINI,  
 .. Gentiluomo Fiorentino.

\* Dr. Johnson thinks, that, after much tumid and trite panegyric, the concluding stanza of this Ode is natural and beautiful.

## JOANNI MILTONI

LONDINENSI.

*Juveni patria, virtutibus eximio,*

**VIRO** qui multa peregrinatione, studio cuncta orbis terrarum loca perspexit, ut novus Ulysses omnia ubique ab omnibus apprehenderet :

Polyglotto, in cujus ore linguæ jam deperditæ sic reviviscunt, ut idiomata omniâ sint in ejus laudibus infacunda ; Et jure ea percallet, ut admirationes et plausus populorum ab propria sapientia excitatos intelligat :

Illi, cujus animi dotes corporisque sensus ad admirationem commovent, et per ipsam motum cuique auferunt; cujus opera ad plausus hortantur, sed <sup>b</sup>venustate vocem laudatoribus adimunt.

Cui in memoria totus orbis ; in intellectu sapientia ; in voluntate ardor gloriæ ; in ore eloquentia ; harmonicos cœlestium sphærarum sonitus astronomia duce audienti ; characteres mirabilium naturæ per quos Dei magnitudo describitur magistra philosophia legenti ; antiquitatum latebras vetustatis excidia, eruditionis ambages, comite assidua autorum lectione,

Exquirenti, restauranti, percurrenti.

*At cur nitor in arduum?*

<sup>b</sup> vastitate. Edit. 1645.

Illi in cujus virtutibus evulgandis ora Famæ non  
 sufficiant, nec hominum stupor in laudandis satis est,  
 reverentiæ et amoris ergo hoc ejus meritis debitum ad-  
 mirationis tributum offert CAROLUS DATUS<sup>c</sup> Patricius  
 Florentinus,

Tanto homini servus, tantæ virtutis amator.

<sup>c</sup> Carlo Dati, one of Milton's literary friends at Florence. See  
 Epitaph. Damon. v. 137.



# ELEGIARUM LIBER.

## ELEG. I. *Ad CAROLUM DEODATUM.\**

TANDEM, chare, tuæ mihi pervenere tabellæ,  
Pertulit et voces nuncia charta tuas ;

\* Charles Deodate was one of Milton's most intimate friends. He was an excellent scholar, and practised physic in Cheshire. He was educated with our author at Saint Paul's School in London ; and from thence was sent to Trinity College, Oxford, where he was entered Feb. 7, in the year 1621, at thirteen years of age. Lib. Matric. Univ. Oxon. sub ann. He was born in London, and the name of his father, "in Medicina Doctoris," was Theodore. Ibid. He was a fellow collegian there with Alexander Gill, another of Milton's intimate friends, who was successively Usher and Master of Saint Paul's School. Deodate, while Bachelor of Arts, gave to Trinity College Library, Zuinglius's *Theatrum Vitæ humanæ*, in three volumes. He has a copy of *Alcaics* extant in an Oxford collection on the death of Camden, called *Camdeni Insignia*, Oxon. 1624. He left the College, when he was a Gentleman Commoner, in 1628, having taken the degree of Master of Arts. Lib. Caution. Coll. Trin. Toland says, that he had in his possession two

Greek letters, very well written, from Deodate to Milton. Two of Milton's familiar Latin letters, in the utmost freedom of friendship, are to Deodate. Epist. Fam. Prose Works, vol. ii. 567, 568. Both dated from London, 1637. But the best, certainly the most pleasing evidences of their intimacy, and of Deodate's admirable character, are our author's first and sixth Elegies, the fourth Sonnet, and the Epitaphium *Damonis*. And it is highly probable, that Deodate is the *simple shepherd lad* in *Comus*, who is skilled in plants, and loved to hear *Thyrsis* sing, v. 619. seq. He died in the year 1638. See the first note, Epitaph. *Damon*.

This Elegy was written about the year 1627. in answer to a letter out of Cheshire from Deodate: and Milton seems pleased to reflect, that he is affectionately remembered at so great a distance, v. 5.

Multum, crede, juvat terras aluisse  
remotas  
Pectus amans nostri, tamque fidele  
caput.

Our author was now residing with his father, a scrivener in

Pertulit, occidua Devæ Cestrensis ab ora  
Vergivium pronò qua petit amne salum.

Bread street, who had not yet retired from business to Horton near Colnebrook.

I have mentioned Alexander Gill in this note. He was made Usher of St. Paul's School about the year 1619, where Milton was his favourite scholar. He was admitted at fifteen a Commoner of Trinity College, Oxford, in 1612. Here at length he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, about 1629. His brothers George and Nathaniel were both of the same College, and on the foundation. In a book given to the Library there, by their father, its author, called the Sacred Philosophie of the Holy Scripture, 1635, I find this inscription written by Alexander. "Ex dono authoris Artium Magistri olim Collegii Corporis Christi alumni, Patris Alexandri Georgii et Nathanaelis Gillorum, qui omnes in hoc Studiosorum vario literis operam dedere. Tertio Kal. Junias, 1635." This Alexander gave to the said Library the old folio edition of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Drayton's *Polyolbion* by Selden, and Bourdelotius's *Lucian*, all having poetical mottos from the classics in his own hand-writing, which shew his taste and track of reading. In the *Lucian*, are the Arms of the Gills, elegantly tricked with a pen, and coloured, by Alexander Gill. From Saint Paul's School, of which from the Ushership he was appointed Master in 1635, on the death and in the room of his father, he sent Milton's friend Deodate to Trinity College, Oxford. He

continued Master five years only, and died in 1642. Three of Milton's familiar Latin Letters to this Alexander Gill are remaining, replete with the strongest testimonies of esteem and friendship. Wood says, "he was accounted one of the best Latin poets in the nation." *Ath. Oxon.* ii. 22. Milton pays him high compliments on the excellence of his Latin poetry: and among many other expressions of the warmest approbation calls his verses, "*Carmina sane grandia, et majestatem vere poetici, Virgilianumque ubique ingenium, referentia,*" &c. See *Prose Works*, ii. 565, 566, 567. Two are dated in 1628, and the last, 1634. Most of his Latin poetry is published in a small volume, entitled, *Poetici Conatus*, 1632, 12mo. But he has other pieces extant, both in Latin and English. Wood had seen others in manuscript. In the church of St. Mary Magdalene at Oxford, I have often seen a long prose Latin epitaph written by Gill to the memory of one of his old College friends Richard Pates, Master of Arts, which shews the writer's uncommon skill in pure latinity. He was not only concerned with Saint Paul's School, but was an assistant to Thomas Farnaby, the school-master of Edward King, Milton's *Lycidas*. He is said to have been removed from Saint Paul's School for his excessive severity. The last circumstance we learn from a satire of the times, "Verses to be re-printed with a second edition of Gondibert, 1653." p. 54, 57.

Multum, crede, juvat terras aluisse remotas 5  
 Pectus amans nostri, tamque fidele caput,  
 Quodque mihi lepidum tellus longinqua sodalem  
 Debet, at unde brevi reddere jussa velit.  
 Me tenet urbs reflua quam Thamesis alluit unda,  
 Meque nec invitum patria dulcis habet. 10  
 Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura revisere Camum,  
 Nec dudum vetiti me laris angit amor.  
 Nuda nec arva placent, umbrasque negantia molles,

Alexander Gill here mentioned, Milton's friend, seems to be sometimes confounded with his father, whose name was also Alexander, who was also Master of Saint Paul's, and whose Logonomia, published in 1621, an ingenious but futile scheme to reform and fix the English language, is well known to our critical lexicographers.

4. *Vergivium*] Drayton has "these rough Vergivian seas," Polyolb. s. i. p. 656. vol. ii. The Irish sea. Again, "*Vergivian*" "deepe." Ibid. s. vi. vol. ii. p. 766. And in other places. Camden's Britannia has lately familiarized the Latin name.

9. *Me tenet urbs reflua quam Thamesis alluit unda.*] To have pointed out London by only calling it the city washed by the Thames, would have been a general and a trite allusion. But this allusion by being combined with the peculiar circumstance of the reflux of the tide, becomes new, poetical, and appropriated. The adjective *reflua* is at once descriptive and distinctive. Ovid has "*refluum mare*." Met. vii. 267.

Et quas oceanî refluxum mare lavit arenas.

12. *Nec dudum vetiti me laris angit amor.*] The words *vetiti laris*, and afterwards *exilium*, will not suffer us to determine otherwise, than that Milton was sentenced to undergo a temporary removal or rustication from Cambridge. I will not suppose for any immoral irregularity. Dr. Bainbridge, the master, is reported to have been a very active disciplinarian: and this lover of liberty, we may presume, was as little disposed to submission and conformity in a college as in a state. When reprimanded and admonished, the pride of his temper, impatient of any sort of reproof, naturally broke forth into expressions of contumely and contempt against his governor. Hence he was punished. See the next note. He appears to have lived in friendship with the Fellows of the College. See Apol. Smectymn. Prose Works, vol. i. 108. Milton, in his prose, takes frequent opportunities of depreciating the conduct and customs of the academical life. In one place he pleases himself with ridiculing the ceremonies of a College-audit.

Quam male Phœbicolis convenit ille locus !  
 Nec duri libet usque minas perferre Magistri, 15  
 Cæteraque ingenio non subeunda meo.

15. *Nec duri libet usque minas  
 perferre Magistri,  
 Cæteraque ingenio non subeunda meo.*]

Milton is said to have been whipped at Cambridge. See *Life of Batburst*, p. 153. This has been reprobated and discredited, as a most extraordinary and improbable piece of severity. But in those days of simplicity and subordination, of roughness and rigour, this sort of punishment was much more common, and consequently by no means so disgraceful and unseemly for a young man at the University, as it would be thought at present. We learn from Wood, that Henry Stubbe, a Student of Christ Church, Oxford, afterwards a partisan of Sir Henry Vane, "shewing himself too forward, pragmatical, and conceited," was publicly whipped by the Censor in the College-hall. *Ath. Oxon.* ii. p. 560. See also *Life of Bathurst*, p. 202. I learn from some manuscript papers of Aubrey the antiquary, who was a student of Trinity College, Oxford, four years from 1642, that "at Oxford and, I believe, at Cambridge, the rod was frequently used by the tutors and deans: and Dr. Potter, while a tutor of Trinity College, I knew right well, whipped his pupil with his sword by his side, when he came to take his leave of him to go to the Inns of Court." In the Statutes of the said College, given in 1556, the Scholars of the

foundation are ordered to be whipped by the Deans, or Censors, even to their twentieth year. In the University Statutes at Oxford, compiled in 1635, ten years after Milton's admission at Cambridge, corporal punishment is to be inflicted on boys under sixteen. We are to recollect, that Milton, when he went to Cambridge, was only a boy of fifteen. The author of an old pamphlet, *Regicides no Saints nor Martyrs*, says, that Hugh Peters, while at Trinity College, Cambridge, was publicly and officially whipped in the *Regent Walk* for his insolence, p. 81. 8vo.

The anecdote of Milton's whipping at Cambridge, is told by Aubrey. MS. Mus. Ashm. Oxon. Num. x. P. iii. From which, by the way, Wood's life of Milton in the *Fæsti Oxonienses*, the first and the ground-work of all the lives of Milton, was compiled. Wood says, that he draws his account of Milton "from his own mouth to my friend, who was well acquainted with and had from him, and from his relations after his death, most of this account of his life and writings following." *Ath. Oxon.* i. F. p. 262. This friend is Aubrey; whom Wood, in another place, calls credulous, "roving and magotie-headed, and sometimes little better than crased." *Life of A. Wood*, p. 577. edit. Hearne, Th. Cæli Vind. &c. vol. ii. This was after a quarrel. I know not that Aubrey



Si sit hoc exilium patrios adiisse penates,  
Et vacuum curis otia grata sequi,

is ever fantastical, except on the subjects of chemistry and ghosts. Nor do I remember that his veracity was ever impeached. I believe he had much less credulity than Wood. Aubrey's *Monumenta Britannica* is a very solid and rational work, and its judicious conjectures and observations have been approved and adopted by the best modern antiquaries.

But let us examine if the context will admit some other interpretation. *Cæteraque*, the most indefinite and comprehensive of descriptions, may be thought to mean literary tasks called impositions, or frequent compulsive attendances on tedious and unimproving exercises in a College-hall. But *cætera* follows *minas*, and *perferre* seems to imply somewhat more than these inconveniences, something that was suffered, and severely felt. It has been suggested, that his father's economy prevented his constant residence at Cambridge; and that this made the College *Lar dudum velitus*, and his absence from the University an *exilium*. But it was no unpleasing or involuntary banishment. He hated the place. He was not only offended at the College discipline, but had even conceived a dislike to the face of the country, the fields about Cambridge. He peevishly complains, that the fields have no soft shades to attract the Muse; and there is something pointed in his exclamation, that Cambridge was a place quite incompatible with the votaries of Phœbus. Here

a father's prohibition had nothing to do. He resolves, however, to forget all these disagreeable circumstances, and to return in due time. The dismissal, if any, was not to be perpetual. In these lines, *ingenium* is to be rendered temper, nature, disposition, rather than genius.

Aubrey says, from the information of our author's brother Christopher, that Milton's "first tutor there [at Christ's College] was Mr. Chappell, from whom receiving some unkindnesse, (he whipt him,) he was afterwards, though it seemed against the rules of the College, transferred to the tuition of one Mr. Tovell, who dyed parson of Lutterworth." MS. Mus. Ashm. ut supr. This information, which stands detached from the body of Aubrey's narrative, seems to have been communicated to Aubrey, after Wood had seen his papers; it therefore does not appear in Wood, who never would otherwise have suppressed an anecdote which contributed in the least degree to expose the character of Milton. I must here observe, that Mr. Chappell, from his original Letters, many of which I have seen, written while he was a Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College, and while Milton was there, and which are now in the possession of Mr. Moreton of Westerhoe in Kent, appears to have been a man of uncommon mildness and liberality of manners.

Probably Mr. Tovell, here mentioned as Milton's second tutor, ought to be Tovey. Natha-

Non ego vel profugi nomen sortemve recuso,

Lætus et exilii conditione fruor.

20

niel Tovey signs his name in an Audit-Book at Christ's College, under the year 1633. He was originally of Sidney College, and there B.A. 1615, and M.A. 1619. It does not appear when he migrated to Christ's. Again, *Lutterworth* should here perhaps be *Kegworth*, likewise in Leicestershire, which (and not *Lutterworth*) is a benefice in the patronage of Christ's College.

15. See Dr. Symmons's *Life of Milton*, p. 55—77. and the Preface, p. 4—7. Ed. 2. for a detailed examination of the questions treated of in the two preceding notes, which I have given at full length, on account of the degree of attention which, however unnecessarily, these curious questions have excited. Whether Milton ever lost a Term by rustication, cannot be ascertained by the account of the Terms he kept: the allusion to Ovid's banishment, which immediately follows the words noticed by Warton, seems to confirm the idea, that his temporary absence from Cambridge was compulsory. Whether he received any other kind of punishment at College, it is neither very easy nor very important to determine. Warton is inaccurate as to his age; he was more than sixteen when he was admitted at Cambridge. But in answer to the charges brought against him by his adversaries, that "after an inordinate and riotous youth spent at the University, he had at length been vomited out thence," we have his own positive assertions, published at a time when they

might have been contradicted, (which they do not appear to have been,) if they had been untrue. The charge, he says, *Apol. for Smectymnus*, Pr. W. i. 115. ed. 1753. "hath given me an apt occasion to acknowledge publicly with all grateful mind that more than ordinary favour and respect which I found above any of my equals at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the Fellows of that College wherein I spent some years: who at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways how much better it would content them that I would stay: as by many letters full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time and long after, I was assured of their singular good affection towards me. Which being likewise propense to all such as were for their studious and civil life worthy of esteem, I could not wrong their judgments and upright intentions so much as to think I had that regard from them for other cause than that I might be still encouraged to proceed in the honest and laudable courses of which they apprehended I had given good proof." The whole defence of himself from p. 114. to p. 119. is well worth consulting. And again in his *Defensio Secunda*, Pr. W. ii. 383. speaking of Cambridge, he says, "Illic disciplinis atque artibus traditis solitis septennium studui; procul omni flagitio, bonis omnibus probatus, usquedum ma-

O utinam vates nunquam graviora tulisset

Ille Tomitano flebilis exul agro ;

Non tunc Ionio quicquam cessisset Homero,

Neve foret victo laus tibi prima, Maro.

Tempora nam licet hic placidis dare libera Musis, 25

Et totum rapiunt me mea vita libri.

Excipit hinc fessum sinuosi pompa theatri,

Et vocat ad plausus garrula scena suos.

"gistri, quem vocant, gradum  
"cum laude etiam adeptus, non  
"in Italiam, quod impurus ille  
"comminiscitur, profugi, sed  
"sponte mea domum me con-  
"tuli, meique etiam desiderium  
"apud collegii plerisque socios,  
"à quibus eram haud medio-  
"criter cultus, reliqui." E.

17. In defence of the false quantity in the word *hoc* Dr. Parr suggests that it is to be found short in the comic poets; and has referred me to two places, one in Plautus, and one in Terence, where it certainly occurs with this quantity. Notwithstanding the charges of Salmasius, which N. Heinsius has repeated, the offences of Milton's Latin metre against quantity are very few—not more perhaps, (if the scasons, addressed to Salsilli, which seem to be constructed on a false principle, and some of the lines in the ode to Rouse, which appear to have been formed in defiance of every principle, be thrown out of the question,) than four, or, at the most, five, of a nature not to be disputed. He has frequently sinned indeed against Dawes's metrical canon, which determines that a short vowel is necessarily lengthened

before a word beginning with *sc*, *sp*, or *st*. But the authenticity of this canon, after all, is not beyond dispute. *Symmons*, *Life of Milton*, p. 58—62. Ed. 2.

22. *Ille Tomitano flebilis exul agro* ;] Ovid thus begins his *Epistles from Pontus*, i. i. 1.

*Naso Tomitanæ jam non novus incola terræ,*

*Hoc tibi de Getico litore mittis opus.*

See our author below, *El. vi. 19.* And *Ovid*, *Trist. iii. ix. 33. i. ii. 85. iv. x. 97. v. vii. 9. seq. Ex Pont. i. ii. 77. i. vii. 49. iii. i. 6. iii. iv. 2. iv. ix. 97. iv. xiii. 15. 23. seq. Again, ibid. iii. viii. 2.*

*Dona Tomitanus mittere posset ager.*

23. *Non tunc Ionio quicquam cessisset Homero, &c.*] I have before observed, that Ovid was Milton's favourite Latin poet. In these *Elegies* Ovid is his pattern. But he sometimes imitates *Propertius* in his prolix digressions into the ancient Grecian story.

27. *Excipit hinc fessum sinuosi pompa theatri, &c.*] As in *L'Allegro*, v. 131.

Then to the well-trod stage anon, &c.

The theatre seems to have been a favourite amusement of Milton's youth.

Seu catus auditur senior, seu prodigus hæres,  
 Seu procus, aut posita casside miles adest, 30  
 Sive decennali fœcundus lite patronus  
 Detonat inculto barbara verba foro;  
 Sæpe vafer gnato succurrit servus amanti,  
 Et nasum rigidi fallit ubique patris;  
 Sæpe novos illic virgo mirata calores 35  
 Quid sit amor nescit, dum quoque nescit, amat.  
 Sive cruentatum furiosa Tragœdia sceptrum  
 Quassat, et effusis crinibus ora rotat;  
 Et dolet, et specto, juvat et spectasse dolendo,  
 Interdum et lacrymis dulcis amaror inest: 40  
 Seu puer infelix indelibata reliquit  
 Gaudia, et abrupto flendus amore cadit;

31. *Sive decennali fœcundus lite patronus*  
*Detonat inculto barbara verba foro;*]

He probably means the play of Ignoramus. In the expression *decennali fœcundus lite*, there is both elegance and humour. Most of the rest of Milton's comic characters are Terentian. He is giving a general view of comedy: but it is the view of a scholar, and he does not recollect that he sets out with describing a London theatre.

31. Mr. Dunster supposes "that his theatre, in this place, "was his own closet; where, "when fatigued with other "studies, he relaxed with his "favourite dramatic poets." And he conceives the "*sinuosi pompa theatri*" &c. to be merely the creations of the poet's fancy with the work of some favourite dramatic author before him. *E.*

37. *Sive cruentatum, &c.]*

See Note on Il Pens. v. 98. Ovid calls his Medea "*Scriptum regale*." Trist. ii. 553.

*Et dædimus tragicis scriptum regale cothurnis.*

Again, Ex Pont. iv. xvi. 9.

*Quique dedit Latio cæcumen regale Severus.*

Where he means the Tragedies of Severus.

41. *Seu puer infelix indelibata reliquit*

*Gaudia, et abrupto flendus amore cadit;*

*Seu ferus e tenebris iterat Stygia criminis ultor,*

*Conscia funereo pectora torremovens;]*

By the youth, in the first couplet, he perhaps intends Shakespeare's Romeo. In the second, either Hamlet, or Richard the Third. He then draws his illustrations from the ancient tragedians. The allusions, however, to Shakespeare's incidents do not exactly correspond. In

Seu ferus e tenebris iterat Styga criminis ultor,  
 Conscia funereo pectora torre movens ;  
 Seu mœret Pelopeia domus, seu nobilis Ili, 45  
 Aut luit incestos aula Creontis avos.  
 Sed neque sub tecto semper nec in urbe latemus,  
 Irrita nec nobis tempora veris eunt.  
 Nos quoque lucus habet vicina consitus ulmo,  
 Atque suburbani nobilis umbra loci. 50

the first instance, Romeo was not torn from joys untasted: although *puer* and *abrupto amore* are much in point. The allusions are loose, or resulting from memory, or not intended to tally minutely.

44. *Conscia funereo pectora torre movens* ;] Mr. Steevens suggests, that the allusion is to *Atē* in the old play of *Lochrine*, where she enters with a torch in her hand, and where the motto to the Scene is, *In pœna sectatur et umbra*.

48. *Irrita nec nobis tempora veris eunt*.] Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 150.

—*Primi tempora veris eunt*.

49. *Nos quoque lucus habet vicina consitus ulmo*.] The gods had their favourite trees. So have the poets. Milton's is the elm. In *L'Allegro*, v. 57.

Some time walking not unseen  
 By hedge-row elms on hillocks green.

In *Arcades*, v. 89.

By branching elm, star-proof.

In *Comus*, v. 354.

Or 'gainst the rugged bark of some  
 broad elm  
 Leans her unpillow'd head.

In the *Epitaphium Damonis*, v. 15.

—*Simul assueta seditque sub ulmo*.

*Ibid.* v. 49.

—*Desuper intonat almo*.

In *Par. L.* b. v. 215.

—They led the vine  
 To wed her elm.

The country about Colnebrook impressed Milton with a predilection for this tree. See the next note.

50. *Atque suburbani nobilis umbra loci*.] Some country house of Milton's father very near London is here intended, of which we have now no notices. A letter to Alexander Gill is dated "E nostro Suburbano Decem. 4, 1634." *Prose Works*, vol. ii. 567. In the *Apology* for *Smectymnus*, published 1642, he says to his opponent, "that *suburb* wherein I dwell shall be in my account a more honourable place than his *University*." *Prose Works*, i. 109. His father had purchased the estate at Colnebrook before 1632. In a letter to Deodate, from London, dated 1637, he says, "Dicam jam nunc serio *quid cogitem*, in *Hospitium Juridicorum aliquod immigrare*, sicubi *amœna et umbrosa ambulatio est*, &c. *Ubi nunc sum*, ut *nosti, obscure et anguste sum*." *Prose Works*, vol. ii.

Sæpius hic, blandas aspirantia sidera flammæ,

Virgineos videas præterisse choros.

Ah quoties dignæ stupui miracula formæ,

Quæ possit senium vel reparare Jovis !

Ah quoties vidi superantia lumina gemmas,

55

Atque faces, quotquot volvit uterque polus ;

Collaque bis vivi Pelopis quæ brachia vincant,

Quæque fluit puro nectare tincta via ;

Et decus eximium frontis, tremulosque capillos,

Aurea quæ fallax retia tendit Amor ;

60

Pellacesque genas, ad quas hyacinthina sordet

Purpura, et ipse tui floris, Adoni, rubor !

Cedite laudatæ toties Heroides olim,

Et quæcunque vagum cepit amica Jovem :

Cedite Achæmenia turrta fronte puellæ,

65

569. In an academic Prolusion, written perhaps not far from the time of writing this Elegy, is the following passage, " Testor ipse " lucos, et flumina, et *dilectas villarum ulmos*, sub quibus " *æstate proximè præterita*, si " deorum arcana eloqui liceat, " summam cum Musis gratiam " habuisse me, jucunda memoria " recolo, &c." Prose Works, vol. ii. 602.

55. *Ah quoties vidi*, &c.] Ovid, Epist. Heroid. ix. 79.

*Ah quoties digitis*, &c.

Buchanan, El. vi. p. 43. edit. ut supr.

—Superantia lumine flammæ,

58. *Quæque fluit puro nectare tincta via* ;] Here is a peculiar antique formula, as in the following instances. Virgil, *Æn.* i. 573.

Urbem quam statuo vestra est.

Propertius,

Indue qua primum cepisti veste Properti  
Lumina,—

Terence, Eunuch. iv. iii. 11.

Eunuchum quem dedisti mihi quas turbas dedit.

See also Phormio, v. vii. 54. Many more might be given. Compare the very learned Bishop Newcome's Preface to the Minor Prophets, p. xxxiv. Lond. 1785. 4to.

63. *Cedite laudatæ toties Heroides olim*, &c.] Ovid, Art. Amator. i. 713.

Jupiter ad veteres supplex *Heroides* ibat,  
Corripuit magnum nulla poella Jovem.

65. *Cedite Achæmenia turrta fronte puellæ*,] Achæmenia is a part of Persia, so called from Achæmenes the son of *Ægeus*.

Et quot Susa colunt, Memnoniamque Ninon ;  
 Vos etiam Danaæ fasces submittite Nymphæ,  
 Et vos Iliacæ, Romulæque nurus :  
 Nec Pompeianas Tarpeia Musa columnas  
 Jactet, et Ausoniis plena theatra stolis. 70  
 Gloria Virginibus debetur prima Britannis,  
 Extera sat tibi sit fœmina posse sequi.  
 Tuque urbs Dardaniis, Londinum, structa colonis,

The women of this country wear a high head-dress. See Sandys's Travels. And the next note.

66. *Et quot Susa colunt, Memnoniamque Ninon;* Susa [Susarum], anciently a capital city of Susiana in Persia, conquered by Cyrus. Xerxes marched from this city, to enslave Greece, "From Susa, his Memnonian "palace high." Par. L. x. 308. It is now called *Souster*. Propert. ii. xiii. i.

Non tot Achæmenis armantur Susa sagittis.

Ninus is a city of Assyria, built by Ninus: Memnon, a hero of the Iliad, had a palace there, and was the builder of Susa. Milton is alluding to oriental beauty. In the next couplet, he challenges the ladies of ancient Greece, Troy, and Rome.

69. *Nec Pompeianas Tarpeia Musa, &c.* The poet has a retrospect to a long passage in Ovid, who is here called *Tarpeia Musa*, either because he had a house adjoining to the Capitol, or by way of distinction, that he was the *Tarpeian*, the genuine Roman muse. It is in Ovid's Art of Love, where he directs his votary Venus to frequent the portico of Pompey, or the Theatre, places at Rome, among

others, where the most beautiful women were assembled. B. i. 67.

Tu modo Pompeii lentus spatiare sub umbra, &c.

And v. 89.

Sed tu precipue curvis venare theatris, &c.

See also, b. iii. 387. Propertius says that Cynthia had deserted this famous portico, or colonnade, of Pompey, ii. xxxii. 11.

Scilicet umbrosis sordet Pompeia columnis

Porticus, aulaeis nobilis Attalleis, &c.

Where says the old scholiast, "Romæ erat Porticus Pompeia, "soli arcendo accommodata, sub "qua æstivo potissimum tempore matronæ spatiabantur." See also iv. viii. 75. Other proofs occur in Catullus, Martial, and Statius. Pompey's theatre and portico were contiguous.

The words *Ausoniis stolis* imply literally the theatre filled "with "the ladies of Rome." But *Stola* properly points out a matron. See Note on Il Pens. v. 35. And Ovid, Epist. ex Pont. iii. iii. 52.

Scripsimus hæc istis, quarum nec vitta pudicos

Contingit crines, nec stola longa pedes.

And compare Heinsius on Ovid, Fast. vi. 645.

Turrigerum late conspicienda caput,  
 Tu nimium felix intra tua mœnia claudis 75  
 Quicquid formosi pendulus orbis habet.  
 Non tibi tot cœlo scintillant astra sereno  
 Endymioneæ turba ministra deæ,  
 Quot tibi, conspicuæ formaque auroque, puellæ  
 Per medias radiant turba videnda vias. 80  
 Creditur huc geminis venisse invecta columbis  
 Alma pharetrigero milite cincta Venus,  
 Huic Cnidon, et riguas Simoentis flumine valles,  
 Huic Paphon, et roseam posthabitura Cypron.  
 Ast ego, dum pueri sinit indulgentia cæci, 85  
 Mœnia quam subito linquere fausta paro ;  
 Et vitare procul malefidæ infamia Circes  
 Atria, divini Molyos usus ope.  
 Stat quoque juncosas Cami remeare paludes,  
 Atque iterum raucæ murmur adire Scholæ. 90  
 Interea fidi parvum cape munus amici,  
 Paucaque in alternos verba coacta modos.\*

74. *Turrigerum late conspicienda caput,*] So in L'All. v. 117.

*Tom' red cities please us then.*

88. See notes on *Comus*, v. 636.

89. —*juncosas Cami remeare paludes,*] The epithet *juncosas* is picturesque and appropriated, and exactly describes this river: hence in *Lycidas*. "his bonnet *sedge*," v. 104. *Dr. J. Warton*. And above, v. 11.

*Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura  
revisere Camum.*

But there is a contempt in describing Cambridge, and its river, by the expression *the*

*rushy marshes of Cam*. See v. 13, 14. And notes on *Lycid.* v. 105.

92. The *Roxana* of Alabaster has been mentioned by Dr. Johnson as a Latin composition, equal to the Latin poetry of Milton: whoever but slightly examines it, will find it written in the style and manner of the turgid and unnatural Seneca. It was printed by the author himself at London, 1632. Yet it was written forty years before, 1592, and there had been a surreptitious edition. It is remarkable, that *Mors*, Death, is one of the persons of the Drama. *Dr. J. Warton*.



## ELEG. II. Anno Ætatis 17.

*In obitum Præconis Academici Cantabrigiensis.†*

TE, qui conspicuus baculo fulgente solebas  
 Palladium toties ore ciere gregem,  
 Ultima præconum præconem te quoque sæva  
 Mors rapit, officio nec favet ipsa suo.  
 Candidiora licet fuerint tibi tempora plumis 5  
 Sub quibus accipimus delituisse Jovem;  
 O dignus tamen Hæmonio juvenescere succo,  
 Dignus in Æsonios vivere posse dies,  
 Dignus quem Stygiis medica revocaret ab undis  
 Arte Coronides, sæpè rogante dea. 10

I must add, that among the *dramatica poemata* of Sir William Drury, one of the plays is called *Mors*, and *Mors* is a chief speaker. Duaci, 1628. 12mo. edit. 2. First printed 1620. See below, El. iii. 6.

\* The learned Lord Monbodo pronounces this Elegy to be equal to any thing of the "elegiac kind, to be found in Ovid, or even in Tibullus." Ubi supr. b. iv. p. ii. vol. iii. p. 69.

† The person here commemorated is Richard Ridding, one of the University-Beadles, and a Master of Arts of Saint John's College, Cambridge.

2. It was a custom at Cambridge, lately disused, for one of the Beadles to make proclamation of Convocations in every College. This is still in use at Oxford. See Ode on Goslyn, v. 33.

2. Superseded by printed notices in Oxford within the last thirty years. E.

5. *Candidiora licet, &c*] Ovid, Trist. iv. viii. 1.

*Jan men cygneas imitantur tempora plumas.*

6. *Sub quibus accipimus delituisse Jovem;*] Ovid, Epist. Heroid. viii. 68.

*Non ego fluminei referam mendacia cygni,  
 Nec querar in plumis delituisse Jovem.*

7. — *Hæmonio juvenescere succo, &c.*] See Ovid, Metam. vii. 264.

*Illic Harmonia radices valle resectas,  
 Seminaque, floresque, et sueros incoquit acres.*

And compare. below, Mans. v. 75.

10. *Arte Coronides, sæpè rogante dea.*] Coronides is Æsculapius, the son of Apollo by Coronis. See Ovid, Metam. xv. 624. But the particular allusion is here to Æsculapius restoring Hippolytus to life, at the request of Diana. Fast. vi. 745. seq. Where he is called Coronides. The name also occurs in Ovid's Ibis, v. 407.

Tu si jussus eras acies accire togatas,  
 Et celer a Phœbo nuntius ire tuo,  
 Talis in Iliaca stabat Cyllenius aula  
 Alipes, ætherea missus ab arce Patris.  
 Talis et Eurybates ante ora furentis Achillei 15  
 Rettulit Atridæ jussa severa ducis.  
 Magna sepulchrorum regina, satelles Averni,  
 Sæva nimis Musis, Palladi sæva nimis,  
 Quin illos rapias qui pondus inutile terræ,  
 Turba quidem est telis ista petenda tuis. 20  
 Vestibus hunc igitur pullis, Academia, luge,  
 Et madeant lachrymis nigra feretra tuis.  
 Fundat et ipsa modos querebunda Elegeïa tristes,  
 Personet et totis nænia mœsta scholis.\*

## ELEG. III. Anno Ætatis 17.

*In obitum Præsulis Wintoniensis.†*

MŒESTUS eram, et tacitus nullo comitante sedebam,  
 Hærebantque animo tristia plura meo,

12. These allusions are proofs of our author's early familiarity with Homer.

17. *Magna sepulchrorum regina.*] A sublime poetical appellation for Death: and much in the manner of his English poetry.

\* This Elegy, with the next on the death of Bishop Andrewes, the Odes on the death of Professor Goslyn and Bishop Felton, and the Poem on the Fifth of November, are very correct and manly performances for a boy of seventeen. This was our author's first year at Cambridge. They

discover a great fund and command of ancient literature.

† Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, had been originally Master of Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge; but long before Milton's time. He died at Winchester House in Southwark, Sept. 26, 1626. See the last note.

It is a great concession, that he compliments Bishop Andrewes, in his Church Governm. b. i. iii. "But others better advised are content to receive "their beginning [the bishops]

Protinus en subiit funestæ cladis imago  
 Fecit in Angliaco quam Libitina solo;  
 Dum procerum ingressa est splendentes marmore turres,  
 Dira sepulchrali mors metuenda face; 6  
 Pulsavitque auro gravidos et jaspide muros,  
 Nec metuit satrapum sternere falce greges.  
 Tunc memini clarique ducis, fratrisque verendi  
 Intempestivis ossa cremata rogis: 10  
 Et memini Heroum quos vidit ad æthera raptos,  
 Flevit et amissos Belgia tota duces:  
 At te præcipue luxi, dignissime Præsul,  
 Wintoniæque olim gloria magna tuæ;

"from Aaron and his sons:  
 "among whom Bishop *Andrewes*  
 "of late years, and in these  
 "times [*Usher*] the primate of  
 "Armagh, for their *learning* are  
 "reputed the best able to say  
 "what may be said in their  
 "opinion." This piece was writ-  
 ten 1641. *Prose Works*, vol. i.  
 45. But see their arguments  
 answered, as he pretends, *ibid.*  
*ch. v. p. 47. seq.*

4. *Fecit in Angliaco quam Libi-  
 tina solo;*] A very severe plague  
 now raged in London and the  
 neighbourhood, of which 35417  
 persons are said to have died.  
 See *Whitelock's Mem.* p. 2. and  
*Rushworth, Coll.* vol. i. p. 175,  
 201. Milton alludes to the same  
 pestilence, in an Ode written in  
 the same year, *On the Death of*  
*a fair Infant*, v. 67.

To turn swift-rushing black Perdition  
 hence,  
 Or drive away the slaughtering *Per-  
 tilence*.

9. *Tunc memini clarique ducis,*  
 &c.] I am kindly informed by  
 VOL. IV.

Sir David Dalrymple, "The two  
 "Generals here mentioned, who  
 "died in 1626, were the two  
 "champions of the Queen of  
 "Bohemia, the Duke of Bruns-  
 "wick, and Count Mansfelt:  
 "*Frater* means a Sworn Brother  
 "in arms, according to the mili-  
 "tary cant of those days. The  
 "Queen's, or the Palatine, cause  
 "was supported by the German  
 "princes, who were heroes of  
 "Romance, and the last of that  
 "race in that country. The  
 "protestant religion, and chi-  
 "valry, must have interested  
 "Milton in this cause. The next  
 "couplet respects the death of  
 "Henry, Earl of Oxford, who  
 "died not long before." See  
*Carte's Hist. Eng.* iv. p. 93. *seq.*  
 172. *seq.* Henry, Earl of Oxford,  
 Shakespeare's patron, died at the  
 siege of Breda in 1625. *Dugd.*  
*Bar.* ii. 200. See *Howell's Let-  
 ters*, vol. i. sect. 4. *Lett.* xv. And  
 note on *El.* iv. *infr.* 74. If this  
 be the sense of *Fratris*, *verendi*  
 is not a very suitable epithet.

Delicui fletu, et tristi sic ore querebar,	15
Mors fera, Tartareo diva secunda Jovi,	
Nonne satis quod sylva tuas persentiat iras,	
Et quod in herbosos jus tibi detur agros,	
Quodque afflata tuo marcescant lilia tabo,	
Et crocus, et pulchræ Cypridi sacra rosa,	20
Nec sinis, ut semper fluvio contermina quercus	
Miretur lapsus prætereuntis aquæ ?	
Et tibi succumbit, liquido quæ plurima cœlo	
Evehitur pennis, quamlibet augur avis,	
Et quæ mille nigris errant animalia sylvis,	25
Et quot alunt mutum Proteos antra pecus.	
Invida, tanta tibi cum sit concessa potestas,	
Quid juvat humana tingere cæde manus ?	
Nobileque in pectus certas acuisse sagittas,	
Semideamque animam sede fugasse sua ?	30
Talia dum lacrymans alto sub pectore volvo,	
Roscidus occiduis Hesperus exit aquis,	
Et Tartessiaco submerserat æquore currum	
Phœbus, ab Eoö littore mensus iter :	
Nec mora, membra cavo posui refovenda cubili,	35

21. —*fluvio contermina quercus*, &c.] Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 620.

—*Tiliæ contermina quercus*.

The epithet is a favourite with Ovid, but, although so commodious for versification, is not once used by Virgil.

32. *Roscidus occiduis Hesperus exit aquis*,] Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 314.

*Hesperus et fusco roscidus ibat equo*.

Again, *Epist. ex Pont.* ii. v. 50.

*Qualis ab Eois Lucifer exit aquis*.

See also *Metam.* xv. 189.

33. *Et Tartessiaco*, &c.] Ovid, *Metam.* xiv. 416.

*Presserat occiduis Tartessia littora Phæbus*.

*Tartessiacus* occurs in Martial, *Epigr.* ix. 46. See below, *El.* vi. 83. We are to understand the straits of Hercules, or the Atlantic ocean. See also Buchanan *De Sphær.* l. i. p. 126. edit. ut supr. "*Tartessiacis*, cum "Taurus mergitur undis." And ib. p. 123. Buchanan was now a popular modern classic.

Condiderant oculos noxque soporque meos:  
 Cum mihi visus eram lato spatiarier agro,  
 Heu nequit ingenium visa referre meum.  
 Illic punicea radiabant omnia luce,  
 Ut matutino cum juga sole rubent. 40  
 Ac veluti cum pandit opes Thaumantia proles,  
 Vestitu nituit multicolore solum.  
 Non dea tam variis ornavit floribus hortos  
 Alcinoi, Zephyro Chloris amata levi.  
 Flumina vernantes lambunt argentea campos, 45  
 Ditior Hesperio flavet arena Tago.  
 Serpit odoriferas per opes levis aura Favoni,  
 Aura sub innumeris humida nata rosis,  
 Talis in extremis terræ Gangetidis oris

41. "The ground glittered,  
 "as when it reflects the manifold  
 "hues of a rainbow in all its  
 "glory." We have *Thaumantias*  
*Iris*, in Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 479.  
 See also Virgil, ix. 6.

43. *Non dea tam variis ornavit  
 floribus hortos  
 Alcinoi, Zephyro Chloris a-  
 mata levi.*

Eden is compared to the Ho-  
 meric garden of Alcinous, *Par.*  
*Lost*, b. ix. 439. b. v. 341.

Chloris is Flora, who accord-  
 ing to ancient fable was beloved  
 by Zephyr. See Ovid, *Fast.* l.  
 v. 195. seq. She is again called  
 Chloris by our author, *El.* iv. 35.  
 Yet there, and according to the  
 true etymology of the word, she  
 is more properly the power of  
 vegetation. Chloris is Flora in  
 Drummond's *Sonnets*, *Signat. E.*  
*2. ut supr.* In Ariosto, Mercury  
 steals Vulcan's net made for  
 Mars and Venus to captivate  
 Chloris. *Orl. Fur. c. xv. 57.*

*Chloris* bella, che per aria vola, &c.

45. In the garden of Eden,  
 "the crisped brooks roll on orient  
 "pearl and sands of gold." *Par.*  
*Lost*, b. iv. 237.

47. *Serpit odoriferas per opes  
 levis aura Favoni,  
 Aura sub innumeris humida  
 nata rosis,*  
 So in the same garden, v. 156.  
 But with a conceit.

—Gentle gales

Fanning their odoriferous wings, dis-  
 pense

*Native* perfumes, and whisper whence  
 they stole

These balmy spoils.

Compare *Cymbeline*, a. iv. s. 2.

—They are as gentle

As zephyrs blowing below the violet,  
 Not wagging his sweet head.

We have Favonius for Zephyr,  
*Lucretius's genitabilis aura Fa-  
 voni*, in *Sonn.* xx. 6. Where see  
 the note.

49. *Talis in extremis terræ Gan-  
 getidis oris*

Luciferi regis fingitur esse domus. 50  
 Ipse racemiferis dum densas vitibus umbras,  
 Et pelluentes miror ubique locos,  
 Ecce mihi subito Præsul Wintonius astat,  
 Sidereum nitido fulsit in ore jubar;  
 Vestis ad auratos defluxit candida talos, 55  
 Infula divinum cinxerat alba caput.  
 Dumque senex tali incedit venerandus amictu,  
 Intremuit læto florea terra sono.  
 Agmina gemmatis plaudunt cœlestia pennis,  
 Pura triumphali personat æthra tuba. 60  
 Quisque novum amplexu comitem cantuque salutat,

*Luciferi regis fingitur esse domus.]*

I know not where this fiction is to be found. But our author has given a glorious description of a palace of Lucifer, in the *Par. Lost*, b. v. 757.

Mr. Steevens gives another meaning to the text: "You suppose the Palace of Lucifer, that is Satan, to have been the object intended. But I cannot help thinking, that the residence of the sun was what Milton meant to describe, as situated in the extreme point of the East. I shall countenance my opinion, by an instance not taken from a more inglorious author than our poet has sometimes deigned to copy.

"For from his Pallace in the East,  
 "The King of Light, in purple drest,  
 "Set thicke with gold and precious  
 "stone,  
 "Which like a rocke of diamond  
 "shonne.

"*Pymlico, or Runne Red Cappe*,  
 "&c. 1609. It is observable,  
 "that this passage not only ex-

"hibits the *Domus Luciferi Regis terræ Gangatidis oris*, but also "the rock of diamond, in which "Milton has armed one of his "rebellious spirits. This house, "I suppose, is intended for the "Palace of the Sun, as described "by Ovid. You seem to have "considered Lucifer as a proper "name instead of a compound "epithet." See "*luciferas rotas*," *infr. El. v. 46*. And note on *Comus*, v. 880.

59. *Agmina gemmatis plaudunt cœlestia pennis,*] Not from the Italian poets, but from Ovid's *Cupid, Remed. Amor. v. 39*.

—*Movit Amor gemmatas aureus alas.* Again, *Amor. i. ii. 41*. Of the same.

*Tu penus gemma, gemma variante capillos, &c.*

In *Paradise Lost*, Milton has been more sparing in decorating the plumage of his angels.

61. *Quisque novum amplexu comitem cantuque salutat,*] So in *Lycidas*, v. 178.

There entertain him all the saints above, &c.

Hosque aliquis placido misit ab ore sonos ;  
 " Nate veni, et patrii felix cape gaudia regni,  
 " Semper abhinc duro, nate, labore vaca."

Dixit, et aligeræ tetigerunt nablia turmæ, 65

At mihi cum tenebris aurea pulsa quies.  
 Flebam turbatos Cephaleia pellice somnos,  
 Talia contingant somnia sæpe mihi.\*

ELEG. IV. Anno Ætatis 18.

*Ad THOMAM JUNIUM præceptorem suum, apud  
 mercatores Anglicos Hamburgæ agentes Pastoris  
 munere fungentem.*†

CURRE per immensum subito, mea litera, pontum,  
 I, pete Teutonicos læve per æquor agros ;

67. — *Cephaleia pellice*] Aurora, see note El. v. 51.

\* Milton, as he grew old in puritanism, must have looked back with disgust and remorse on the panegyric of this performance, as on one of the sins of his youth, inexperience, and orthodoxy: for he had here celebrated, not only a bishop, but a bishop who supported the dignity and constitution of the Church of England in their most extensive latitude, the distinguished favourite of Elizabeth and James, and the defender of regal prerogative. Clarendon says, that if Andrewes, " who loved and understood the Church," had succeeded Bancroft in the see of Canterbury, " that infection would " easily have been kept out, " which could not afterwards be " so easily expelled." Hist. Rebell. b. i. p. 88. edit. 1721.

† Thomas Young, now pastor of the church of English merchants at Hamburg, was Milton's private preceptor, before he was sent to Saint Paul's School. Aubrey in his manuscript Life, calls him, " a puritan in Essex " who cutt his haire short." [If Milton imbibed from T. Young any of the principles of the Puritans, his portraits shew that he never adopted from his tutor the outward symbol of the sect. He preserved his " clustering " locks" throughout the reign of the Round-heads. Todd.] Under such an instructor, Milton probably first imbibed the principles of puritanism: and as a puritan tutor was employed to educate the son, we may fairly guess at the persuasions or inclinations of the father. Besides, it is said that our author's grandfather, who lived at Holton, five miles

Segnes rumpe moras, et nil, precor, obstet cuncti,  
Et festinantis nil remoretur iter.

east of Oxford, and was one of the rangers of Shotover forest, disinherited his son for being a protestant: and, as converts are apt to go to excess, I suspect the son embraced the opposite extreme. The first and fourth of Milton's Familiar Epistles, both very respectful and affectionate, are to this Thomas Young. See *Prose Works*, ii. 365, 367. In the first, dated at London, *inter urbana diverticula*, Mar. 26, 1625, he says he had resolved to send Young an Epistle in verse: but thought proper at the same time to send one in prose. The Elegy now before us is this Epistle in verse. In the second, dated from Cambridge, Jul. 21, 1628, he says, "Rus tuum accersitus, simul ac ver adoleverit, libenter adveniam, ad capessendas anni, tuique non minus colloqui, delicias; et ab urbano strepitu subducam me paulisper." Whatever were Young's religious instructions, our author professes to have received from this learned master his first introduction to the study of poetry, v. 29.

Primus ego Aonios, illo præeunte,  
recessus  
Lustrabam, et bifidi sacra vireta  
jugi  
Pieriosque hausî latices, Clioque fa-  
vente,  
Castallo sparsi læta ter ora mero.

Yet these couplets may imply only, a first acquaintance with the classics.

This Thomas Young, who appears to have returned to England in or before the year 1628, was Doctor Thomas Young, a Member of the Assembly of Di-

vines, where he was a constant attendant, and one of the authors of the book called *Smectymnuus*, defended by Milton; and who from a London preachship in Duke's Place was preferred by the parliament to the mastership of Jesus College in Cambridge, Neale's *Hist. Pur.* iii. 122. 59. Clarke, a calvinistic biographer, attests, that he was "a man of great learning, of much prudence and piety, and of great ability and fidelity in the work of the ministry." *Lives*, p. 194.

I have a Sermon by Young, intitled *Hope's Incouragement*, preached before the House of Commons, on a Fast-day, Feb. 28, 1644. Printed by order of the House, Lond. 1644. 4to. At the foot of the Dedication he styles himself, "Thomas Young, Sancti Evangelii in comitatu Suffolciensi minister." Another of his publications, as I apprehend, is a learned work in Latin called *Dies dominica*, on the observation of Sunday. Printed anno 1639. No place. 4to. Bishop Barlow says in the Bodleian copy of this book, in a Latin note, that it was written by *Dom. Doctor Young*, as he had been informed in 1658, by N. Bernard, chaplain to Archbishop Usher. He adds, "*Quis fuerit prædictus D. Younge, mihi non certo constat.*" The Dedication to the Reformed Church, is subscribed, *Theophilus Philo-Kurices, Loucardiensis*. The last word I cannot decypher. But there is *Loucardie* in the shire of Perth. I learn the following particulars from a manuscript history of



Ipse ego Sicanio frænantem carcere ventos 5  
 Æolon, et virides sollicitabo Deos,  
 Cæruleamque suis comitatam Dorida Nymphis,  
 Ut tibi dent placidam per sua regna viam.  
 At tu, si poteris, celeres tibi sume jugales,  
 Vecta quibus Colchis fugit ab ore viri ; 10  
 Aut queis Triptolemus Scythicas devenit in oras,  
 Gratus Eleusina missus ab urbe puer.

Jesus College. He was a native of Scotland. He was admitted Master of the College by the Earl of Manchester in person, Apr. 12, 1644. He was ejected from the Mastership for refusing the Engagement. He died and was buried at Stow-market in Suffolk, where he had been Vicar thirty years.

1. *Curre per immensum subito, mea litera, pontum, &c.*] One of Ovid's epistolary Elegies begins in this manner, where the poet's address is to his own epistle. Trist. iii. vii. 1.

Vade salutatum subito perarata Per-  
 illam,  
 Litera, &c.

And Milton, like Ovid, proceeds in telling his Epistle what to say. In this strain, among other circumstances, Milton informs his Epistle, v. 41.

Invenies dulci cum conjuge forte se-  
 dentem,  
 Mulcentem gremio pignora parva  
 suo ;  
 Forsitan aut veterum prælargæ volu-  
 mina patrum  
 Versantem, aut veri biblia sacra  
 Dei.

So Ovid, v. 3.

Aut illam invenies dulci cum matre  
 sedentem,

Aut inter libros Pleridasque suas,  
 &c.

5. The hemistic is from Ovid, Metam. xiv. 224.

Æolon Hipotaden frænantem carcere  
 ventos.

Our author's wishes of speed to his Epistle, are expressed and exhibited under a great and beautiful variety of poetical fictions and allusions.

10. "Take the swift car of  
 "Medea, in which she fled from  
 "her husband."

11. *Aut queis Triptolemus, &c.*] Triptolemus was carried from Eleusis in Greece, into Scythia, and the most uncultivated regions of the globe, on winged serpents, to teach mankind the use of wheat. Here is a manifest imitation of Ovid, who in the same manner wishes at once, both for the chariots of Medea and Triptolemus, that in an instant he may revisit his friends. Trist. iii. viii. 1.

Nunc ego Triptolemi cuperem con-  
 scendere currus,  
 Misit in ignotam qui rude semen  
 humum ;  
 Aut ego Medæ cuperem frenare dra-  
 cones,  
 Quos habuit, fugiens arce, Corinthæ,  
 tus, &c.

Compare Metam. b. v. 645. seq.

Atque ubi Germanas flavere videbis arenas,  
 Ditis ad Hamburgæ mœnia flecte gradum,  
 Dicitur occiso quæ ducere nomen ab Hama, 15  
 Cimbrica quem fertur clava dedisse neci;  
 Vivit ibi antiquæ clarus pietatis honore  
 Præsul, Christicolas pascere doctus oves;  
 Ille quidem est animæ plusquam pars altera nostræ,  
 Dimidio vitæ vivere cogor ego. 20  
 Hei mihi quot pelagi, quot montes interjecti,  
 Me faciunt alia parte carere mei!  
 Charior ille mihi, quam tu doctissime Graium  
 Cliniasi, pronepos qui Telamonis erat;  
 Quamque Stagyrites generoso magnus alumno, 25  
 Quem peperit Lybico Chaonis alma Jovi.  
 Qualis Amyntorides, qualis Philyreïus heros  
 Myrmidonum regi, talis et ille mihi.

15. *Dicitur occiso quæ ducere nomen ab Hama,*] Krantzius, a Gothic geographer, says, that the city of Hamburg in Saxony took its name from Hama a puissant Saxon champion, who was killed on the spot where that city stands by Starchater a Danish giant. Saxonia, lib. i. c. xi. p. 12. edit. Wechel. 1575. fol. The *Cimbrica clava* is the club of the Dane. In describing Hamburg, this romantic tale could not escape Milton.

21. *Hei mihi quot pelagi, &c.*] Homer, Il. i. 155.

—Εἶμι μάλ᾽ ὡς πολλὰ μεταξὺ  
 Ὀρεῖα τε καὶ θάλασσα τε ἄχνηται.

But I believe under a similar sentiment, he copied his favourite elegiac bard, Trist. iv. vii. 21.

Innumeri montes inter me iacent,  
 viæque,

Fluminaque, at campi, nec freta  
 pauca jacent.

23. Dearer than Socrates to Alcibiades, who was the son of Clinias, and has this appellation in Ovid's Ibis, "Cliniadæque modo," &c. v. 635. Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, was anciently descended from Eurysaces, a son of the Telamonian Ajax.

25. Aristotle, [preceptor to Alexander the Great.

27. *Qualis Amyntorides, qualis Philyreïus heros, &c.*] Phœnix the son of Amyntor, and Chiron, both instructors of Achilles. "*Amyntorides* Phœnix," occurs in Ovid, Art. Amator. i. 337. And *Amyntorides*, simply, in the Ibis, v. 261. We find "*Philyreïus heros*" for Chiron, Metam. ii. 676. The instances are, of the love of scholars to their masters, in ancient story.

Primus ego Aonios illo præeunte recessus  
 Lustrabam, et bifidi sacra vireta jugi, 30  
 Pieriosque hausit latices, Clioque favente,  
 Castalio sparsi læta ter ora mero.  
 Flammeus at signum ter viderat arietis Æthon,  
 Induxitque auro lanea terga novo,  
 Bisque novo terram sparsisti, Chlorig, senilem 35  
 Gramine, bisque tuas abstulit Auster opes :  
 Necdum ejus licuit mihi lumina pascere vultu,  
 Aut linguæ dulces aure bibisse sonos.  
 Vade igitur, cursuque Eurum præverte sonorum,  
 Quam sit opus monitis res docet, ipsa vides. 40  
 Invenies dulci cum conjuge forte sedentem,  
 Mulcentem gremio pignora chara suo,  
 Forsitan aut veterum prælarga volumina patrum  
 Versantem, aut veri biblia sacra Dei,  
 Cœlestive animas saturantem rore tenellas, 45  
 Grande salutiferæ religionis opus.  
 Utque solet, multam sit dicere cura salutem,  
 Dicere quam decuit, si modo adesset, herum.  
 Hæc quoque, paulum oculos in humum defixa mo-  
 destos,  
 Verba verecundo sis memor ore loqui : 50

32. See *Comus*, 911. seq.

Thus I sprinkle on thy breast, &c.

33. *Viderat* is the reading in Milton's edition, 1673. *Vidit* 1695, and in Tonson, 1695, and Fenton.

*Ibid.* Two years and one month. In which had passed, three vernal equinoxes, two springs and two winters. See the first note. Young, we may

then suppose, went abroad in February, 1623, when Milton was about fifteen. But compare their prose correspondence, where Milton says, "quod autem plusquam triennio nunquam ad te scripserem."

49. —*oculos in humum defixa modestos,*] Ovid, *Amor.* iii. vi. 67.

—*Ille oculos in humum dejecta modestos.*

Hæc tibi, si teneris vacat inter prælia Musis,  
 Mittit ab Angliaco littore fida manus.  
 Accipe sinceram, quamvis sit sera, salutem ;  
 Fiat et hoc ipso gratior illa tibi.  
 Sera quidem, sed vera fuit, quam casta recepit 55  
 Icaris a lento Penelopeia viro.  
 Ast ego quid volui manifestum tollere crimen,  
 Ipse quod ex omni parte levare nequit ?  
 Arguitur tardus merito, noxamque fatetur,  
 Et pudet officium deseruisse suum. 60  
 Tu modo da veniam fasso, veniamque roganti,  
 Crimina diminui, quæ patuere, solent.  
 Non ferus in pavidos rictus diducit hiantes,  
 Vulnifico pronos nec rapit ungue leo.  
 Sæpe sarissiferi crudelia pectora Thracis 65  
 Supplicis ad mœstas deliquere preces :  
 Extensæque manus avertunt fulminis ictus,  
 Placat et iratos hostia parva Deos.  
 Jamque diu scripsisse tibi fuit impetus illi,  
 Neve moras ultra ducere passus Amor ; 70  
 Nam vaga Fama refert, heu nuntia vera malorum !  
 In tibi finitimis bella tumere locis,  
 Teque tuamque urbem truculento milite cingi,  
 Et jam Saxonicos arma parasse duces.

55. The allusion is to a well-known Epistle of Ovid.

61. *Tu modo da veniam fasso,*] Ovid, *Epist. ex Pont. iv. ii. 23.* "*Tu modo da veniam fasso.*" The same combination occurs in Ovid repeatedly.

65. Ovid, *Metam. xii. 466.* "*Macedoniaque sarissa.*"

74. *Et jam Saxonicos arma parasse duces.*] About the year

1626, when this Elegy was written, the imperialists under General Tilly, were often encountered by Christian, Duke of Brunswick, and the Dukes of Saxony, particularly Duke William of Saxon Wiemar, and the Duke of Saxon Lawenburgh, in Lower Saxony, of which Ham-  
 burgh, where Young resided, is the capital. See v. 77. Germany,

Te circum late campos populatur Enyo, 75  
 Et sata carne virum jam cruor arva rigat ;  
 Germanisque suum concessit Thracia Martem,  
 Illuc Odrysios Mars pater egit equos ;  
 Perpetuoque comans jam deflorescit oliva,  
 Fugit et ærisonam Diva perosa tubam, 80  
 Fugit io terris, et jam non ultima virgo  
 Creditur ad superas justa volasse domos.  
 Te tamen interea belli circumsonat horror,  
 Vivis et ignoto solus inopsque solo ;  
 Et, tibi quam patrii non exhibuere penates, 85  
 Sede peregrina quæris egenus opem.  
 Patria dura parens, et saxis sævior albis  
 Spumæ quæ pulsat littoris unda tui,  
 Siccine te decet innocuos exponere fœtus,  
 Siccine in externam ferrea cogis humum, 90  
 Et sinis ut terris quærant alimenta remotis  
 Quos tibi prospiciens miserat ipse Deus,

in general, either by invasion, or interior commotions, was a scene of the most bloody war from the year 1618, till later than 1640. Gustavus Adolphus conquered the greater part of Germany about 1631. See note on El. iii. supr. v. 9.

84. *Vivis et ignoto solus inopsque solo* ;] Ovid, of Achæmenides, *Metam. xiv. 217.*

*Solus, inops, exspes.*

These circumstances, added to others, leave us strongly to suspect, that Young was a non-conformist, and probably compelled to quit England on account of his religious opinions and practice. He seems to have been driven back to England, by the

war in the Netherlands, not long after this Elegy was written. See v. 71. seq. and the first note.

86. *Sede peregrina quæris egenus opem.*] Before and after 1630, many English ministers, puritanically affected, left their cures, and settled in Holland, where they became pastors of separate congregations: when matters took another turn in England, they returned, and were rewarded for their unconforming obstinacy, in the new presbyterian establishment. Among these were Nye, Burroughs, Thomas Goodwin, Simpson, and Bridge, eminent members of the Assembly of Divines. See Wood, *Ath. Oxon. ii. 504.* Neale's *Hist. Pur. iii. 376.*

Et qui læta ferunt de cœlo nuntia, quique

Quæ via post cineres ducat ad astra, docent ?

Digna quidem Stygiis quæ vivas clausa tenebris, 95

Æternaque animæ digna perire fame !

Haud aliter vates terræ Thesbitidis olim

Pressit inassucto devia tesqua pede,

Desertasque Arabum salebras, dum regis Achabi

Effugit, atque tuas, Sidoni dira, manus : 100

100. — *Sidoni dira*,] Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, was the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Sidonians. *Sidoni* is a vocative, from *Sidonis*, often applied by Ovid to Europa the daughter of Agenor king of Sidon or Syria. *Fast. b. v. 610.*

*Sidoni*, sic fueras accipienda Jovi.

Some of these scriptural allusions are highly poetical, and much in Milton's manner. His friend, who bears a sacred character, forced abroad for his piety and religious constancy by the persecutions of a tyrannic tribunal, and distressed by war and want in a foreign country, is compared to Elijah the Tishbite wandering alone over the Arabian deserts, to avoid the menaces of Ahab, and the violence of Jezebel. See 1 Kings xix. 3. seq. He then selects a most striking miracle, under which the power of the Deity is displayed in Scripture as a protection in battle, with reference to his friend's situation, from the surrounding dangers of war. "You are safe under the radiant shield of him, who in the dead of night suddenly dispersed the Assyrians, while the sound of an unseen trumpet was clearly heard in the empty air, and the noises of invisible horses

"and chariots rushing to battle,  
"and the distant hum of clash-  
"ing arms and groaning men,  
"terrified their numerous army."

*Terruit et densas pavido cum rege  
cohortes, &c.*

See 2 Kings vii. 5. "For the Lord had made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots and a noise of horses, even the noise of a great host, &c." *Sionæ arx* is the city of Samaria, now besieged by the Syrians, and where the king of Israel now resided. It was the capital of Samaria. *Prisca Damascus* was the capital of Syria. *Pavido cum rege* is Benhadad, the king of Syria. In the sequel of the narrative of this wonderful consternation and flight of the Syrians, the solitude of their vast deserted camp affords a most affecting image, even without any poetical enlargement. "We came to the camp of the Syrians, and behold there was no man there, neither voice of man; but horses tied, and asses tied, and the tents as they were." *Ibid. vii. 10.* This is like a scene of enchantment in romance.

100. Mr. Warton properly refers to 2 Kings vii. for the miracle alluded to in ver. 115—122. But Milton had another miracle

Talis et horrisono laceratus membra flagello,  
 Paulus ab Æmathia pellitur urbe Cilix,  
 Piscosæque ipsum Gergessæ civis Iësum  
 Finibus ingratus jussit abire suis.  
 At tu sume animos, nec spes cadat anxia curis, 105  
 Nec tua concutiat decolor ossa metus.  
 Sis etenim quamvis fulgentibus obsitus armis,  
 Intententque tibi millia tela necem,  
 At nullis vel inerme latus violabitur armis,  
 Deque tuo cuspis nulla cruore bibet. 110  
 Namque eris ipse Dei radiante sub ægide tutus,  
 Ille tibi custos, et pugil ille tibi;  
 Ille Sionææ qui tot sub mœnibus arcis  
 Assyrios fudit nocte silente viros;  
 Inque fugam vertit quos in Samaritidas oras 115  
 Misit ab antiquis prisca Damascus agris,  
 Terruit et densas pavido cum rege cohortes,  
 Aere dum vacuo buccina clara sonat,  
 Cornea pulvereum dum verberat ungula campum,  
 Currus arenosam dum quatit actus humum, 120  
 Auditurque hinnitus equorum ad bella ruentum,  
 Et strepitus ferri, murmuraque alta virum.  
 Et tu (quod superest miseris) sperare memento,  
 Et tua magnanimo pectore vince mala;

also in view, v. 113. the deliverance of Jerusalem, *Sionæa arx*, from Sennacherib, king of Assyria; see 2 Kings xix. 35. "that night, the angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians, an hundred fourscore and five thousand." *E.*

101. *Talis et horrisono laceratus membra flagello*, &c.] Whip-

ping and imprisonment were among the punishments of the arbitrary Star-chamber, the threats *Regis Achabi*, which Young fled to avoid.

109. *At nullis vel inerme latus*, &c.] See the same philosophy in *Comus*, v. 421.

123. *Et tu (quod superest, &c.)* For many obvious reasons, *at is* likely to be the true reading.

Nec dubites quandoque frui melioribus annis,  
Atque iterum patrios posse videre lares.

123

## ELEG. V. Anno Ætatis 20.\*

*In adventum veris.*

IN se perpetuo Tempus revolubile gyro

Jam revocat Zephyros vere tepente novos ;

Induiturque brevem Tellus reparata juventam,

Jamque soluta gelu dulce virescit humus.

Fallor? an et nobis redeunt in carmina vires,

5

Ingeniumque mihi munere veris adest?

125. This wish, as we have seen, came to pass. He returned: and when at length his party became superior, he was rewarded with appointments of opulence and honour.

Fallor? An arma sonant? non fallimur, arma sonabant.

See also Buchanan's Epithalamium, Silv. iv. p. 52. edit. ut supr.

*Fallimur?* an nitidæ, &c.

And Comus, v. 221.

*Was I deceiv'd?* &c.

\* In point of poetry, sentiment, selection of imagery, facility of versification, and Latinity, this Elegy, written by a boy, is far superior to one of Buchanan's on the same subject, entitled *Maisæ Calendæ*. See his El. ii. p. 33. Opp. edit. 1715.

1. *In se perpetuo Tempus revolubile gyro*] Buchanan, *De Sphæra*, p. 133. *ibid*.

*In se præcipiti semper revolubilis orbe.*

5. *Fallor? an et, &c.*] So in the Epigram, *Prodit. Bombard.* v. 3.

*Fallor? An et mitis, &c.*

Again, El. vii. 56.

*Fallor? An et radios hinc quoque Phæbus habet?*

This formulary is not uncommon in Ovid. As thus, *Fast.* b. v. 549.

6. *Ingeniumque mihi munere veris adest?*] See v. 23. There is a notion that Milton could write verses only in the spring or summer, which perhaps is countenanced by these passages. But what poetical mind does not feel an expansion or invigoration at the return of the spring, at that renovation of the face of nature with which every mind is in some degree affected? In one of the Letters to Deodate he says, "such is the impetuosity of my temper, that no delay, no rest, no care or thought of any thing else can stop me, till I come to my journey's end, and put a period to my present study." *Prose Works*, ii. 567. In the *Paradise Lost*, he speaks of his aptitude for composition in the night, b. ix. 20.



Munere veris adest, iterumque vigescit ab illo,  
 (Quis putet) atque aliquod jam sibi poscit opus.  
 Castalis ante oculos, bifidumque cacumen oberrat,  
 Et mihi Pyrenen somnia nocte ferunt; 10  
 Concitaque arcano fervent mihi pectora motu,  
 Et furor, et sonitus me sacer intus agit.

If answerable skill I can obtain  
 From my celestial patroness, who  
 deigns  
 Her *nightly* visitations, unimplor'd:  
 And dictates to me slumbering, or  
 inspires  
 Easy my unpremeditated verse.

Again, to Urania, b. vii. 28.

—Not alone, while thou  
 Visit'st my slumbers *nightly*, or when  
 morn  
 Purples the east.

Again, he says that "he visits  
 "nightly the subjects of sacred  
 "poetry," b. iii. 32. And adds,  
 v. 37.

Then feed on thoughts that voluntary  
 move  
 Harmonious numbers.

In the sixth Elegy, he hints that  
 he composed the Ode on the  
 Nativity in the morning, v. 87.

*Dona quidem dedimus Christi natali-  
 bus illa,  
 Illa sub auroram lux mihi prima  
 dedit.*

That is, as above, "when morn  
 "purples the east." In a Letter  
 to Alexander Gill, he says that  
 he translated the hundred and  
 fourteenth Psalm into Greek he-  
 roics, "subito nescio quo impetu  
 "ante *Lucis exortum*." Prose  
 Works, ii. 567. See also below,  
 v. 9.

*Castalis ante oculos bifidumque ca-  
 cumen oberrat,  
 Et mihi Pyrenen somnia nocte fe-  
 runt.*

9. *Castalis*, &c.] Buchanan,  
 El. 1. 2. p. 31. ut supr.

Grataque Phœbeo *Castalis* unda  
 choro.

He has "the inspired *Castalian*  
 "spring." Par. L. iv. 273.

Buchanan was now in high  
 repute as a modern Latin classic,  
 He is thus characterised by a  
 learned and elegant writer of  
 Milton's early days. "Of Latin  
 "poets of our times, in the  
 "judgment of Beza and the  
 "best learned, Buchanan is  
 "esteemed the chiefe.—His con-  
 "ceit in poesie was most rich,  
 "and his sweetness and facilitie  
 "in a verse inimitably excellent,  
 "as appeareth by that master-  
 "peece his Psalms; as farre  
 "beyond those of B. Rhenanus,  
 "as the Stanzas of Petrarch the  
 "Rimes of Skelton: but deserv-  
 "ing more applause if he had  
 "fauln upon another subject: for  
 "I say with J. C. Scaliger, *Illo-  
 "rum piget qui Davidis Psalmos  
 "suis calamistris inustos spera-  
 "rant efficere plausibiliores*.—His  
 "Tragedies are loftie, the style  
 "pure; his Epigrams not to be  
 "mended, save here and there,  
 "according to his genius, too  
 "broad and bitter." Peacham's  
 Compleat Gentleman, p. 91. ch.  
 x. Of Poetry, edit. [2d.] 1634.  
 4to. Milton was now perhaps  
 too young to be captivated by  
 Buchanan's political speculations.

- Delius ipse venit, video Peneïde lauro  
 Implicitos crines, Delius ipse venit.  
 Jam mihi mens liquidi raptatur in ardua cœli, 15  
 Perque vagas nubes corpore liber eo ;  
 Perque umbras, perque antra feror penetralia vatum,  
 Et mihi fana patent interiora Deum ;  
 Intuiturque animus toto quid agatur Olympo,  
 Nec fugiunt oculos Tartara cæca meos. 20  
 Quid tam grande sonat distento spiritus ore ?  
 Quid parit hæc rabies, quid sacer iste furor ?  
 Ver mihi, quod dedit ingenium, cantabitur illo ;  
 Profuerint isto reddita dona modo.  
 Jam, Philomela, tuos foliis adoperta novellis, 25  
 Instituis modulos, dum silet omne nemus :  
 Urbe ego, tu sylva, simul incipiamus utrique,  
 Et simul adventum veris uterque canat.  
 Veris io rediere vices, celebremus honores  
 Veris, et hoc subeat Musa perennis opus. 30  
 Jam sol Æthiopas fugiens Tithoniaque arva,

13. *Delius ipse venit, &c.*] Milton seems to have thought of the beginning of Callimachus's Hymn to Apollo.

25. *Jam, Philomela, tuos foliis adoperta novellis, Instituis modulos, dum silet omne nemus :*]

There is great elegance and purity of expression in *foliis adoperta novellis*. The whole imagery was afterwards transferred into the first Sonnet, v. 1.

O *Nightingale*, that on you bloomy  
*spray*  
*Warblest* at eve when all the woods  
 are still,

30. —*hoc subeat Musa perennis opus.*] Originally *quotannis*, edit. 1645. Salmasius pretends to have observed several false quantities in our author's Latin poems. This was one, and *perennis* appeared in the second edition, 1673. See Salmas. Respons. edit. Lond. 1660. p. 5. Nicholas Heinsius, in an Epistle to Holstenius, complains of these false quantities: and, for elegance, prefers our author's *Defensio* to his Latin poems. See Burman. Syllog. iii. 669. But Heinsius, like too many other great critics, had no taste.

- Flectit ad Arctos aurea lora plagas.  
 Est breve noctis iter, brevis est mora noctis opacæ,  
 Horrida cum tenebris exulat illa suis.  
 Jamque Lycaonius plaustrum cœleste Bootes 35  
 Non longa sequitur fessus ut ante via ;  
 Nunc etiam solitas circum Jovis atria toto  
 Excubias agitant sidera rara polo :  
 Nam dolus, et cædes, et vis cum nocte recessit,  
 Neve Giganteum Dii timuere scelus. 40  
 Forte aliquis scopuli recubans in vertice pastor,  
 Roscida cum primo sole rubescit humus,  
 Hac, ait, hac certe caruisti nocte puella,  
 Phœbe, tua, celeres quæ retineret equos.  
 Læta suas repetit sylvas, pharetramque resumit 45  
 Cynthia, luciferas ut videt alta rotas ;  
 Et, tennes ponens radios, gaudere videtur  
 Officium fieri tam breve fratris ope.  
 Desere, Phœbus ait, thalamos, Aurora, seniles,  
 Quid juvat effæto procubuisse toro? 50  
 Te manet Æolides viridi venator in herba,

32. *Flectit ad Arctos aurea lora plagas.*] Ovid, Art. Amator. i. 549. Of Bacchus.

*Tigribus adjunctis aures lora dabat.*

The expression is finely transferred.

38. *Excubias agitant sidera*] Ode on Nativ. v. 21.

And all the spangled host keep watch in squadrons bright.

43. *Hac, ait, hac certe caruisti nocte puella, Phœbe, tua,*]

Ovid, Art. Amator. ii. 249.

Sæpe tua poleras, Leandre, carere puella.

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46. *Cynthia, luciferas ut videt alta rotas;*] Ovid, Art. Amator. iii. 180.

*Roscida luciferas cum dea jungit equos.*

Again, Epist. Heroid. xi. 46.

*Denaque luciferas luna movebat equos.*

See note on El. iii. 49.

49. *Desere, Phœbus ait, &c.*] "Leave the bed of old Tithonus." Compare the whole context with Ovid, Amor. i. xlii. 37. And Epist. Heroid. iv. 93.

51. *Te manet Æolides, &c.*] Cephalus, with whom Aurora fell in love as she saw him

U

Surge, tuos ignes altus Hymettus habet.  
 Flava verecundo dea crimen in ore fatetur,  
 Et matutinos ocius urget equos.  
 Exuit invisam Tellus rediviva senectam, 55  
 Et cupit amplexus, Phœbe, subire tuos ;  
 Et cupit, et digna est. Quid enim formosius illa,  
 Pandit ut omniferos luxuriosa sinus,  
 Atque Arabum spirat messes, et ab ore venusto  
 Mitia cum Paphiis fundit amoma rosis ! 60  
 Ecce coronatur sacro frons ardua luco,  
 Cingit ut Idæam pinea turris Opim ;  
 Et vario madidos intexit flore capillos,  
 Floribus et visa est posse placere suis.  
 Floribus effusos ut erat redimita capillos, 65  
 Tænario placuit diva Sicana Deo.

hunting on mount Hymettus. Ovid, *Metam.* vii. 701. He is called, *Æolides Cephalus*, *ibid.* vi. 681. and *Æolides* simply, *ibid.* vii. 672. Hence *El.* iii. 67.

Flebam turbatos *Cephalæia pellice*  
*somnos.*

53. *Flava verecundo dea crimen in ore fatetur,*] Ovid, *Metam.* i. 484.

*Pulchra verecundo suffunditur ora*  
*rubore.*

57. —*et digna est.*] That is, *pulchra*. So above, *El.* i. 53.

Ah ! quoties *dignæ stupui miracula*  
*formæ !*

Cicero, *de Invent.* l. ii. i. "Ei pueros ostenderunt multos magna præditos dignitate." And afterwards, from the beauty of these boys, the *dignitas* of their sisters is estimated. Milton, at these early years, seems to have been nicely skilled in the force of Latin words, and to

have known the full extent of the Latin tongue.

58. *Pandit ut omniferos luxuriosa sinus,*] See *Par. L. b. v.* 338.

Whatever Earth all-bearing mother yields.

Milton here thought of Ovid's *Tellus*, who makes a speech, and who lifts her "*omniferos vultus*." *Metam.* ii. 275.

62. The head of his personified Earth crowned with a sacred wood, resembles Ops, or Cybele, crowned with towers. But in *pineæ turris*, he seems to have confounded her crown of towers with the pines of Ida. Tibullus calls her *Idæa Ops*. *El.* i. iv. 68.

66. *Tænario placuit,* &c.] See *Parad. Lost*, b. iv. 268. "Where *Proserpine*, &c." And Ovid, *Metam.* b. v. 391.

There are touches of the great

Aspice, Phœbe, tibi faciles hortantur amores,  
 Mellitasque movent flamina verna preces :  
 Cinnamea Zephyrus leve plaudit odorifer ala,  
 Blanditiasque tibi ferre videntur aves. 70  
 Nec sine dote tuos temeraria quærit amores  
 Terra, nec optatos poscit egena toros ;  
 Alma salutiferum medicos tibi gramen in usus  
 Præbet, et hinc titulos adjuvat ipsa tuos :  
 Quod si te pretium, si te fulgentia tangunt 75  
 Munera, (muneribus sæpe coemptus amor)  
 Illa tibi ostentat quascunque sub æquore vasto,  
 Et superinjectis montibus abdit opes.  
 Ah quoties, cum tu clivoso fessus Olympo  
 In vespertinas præcipitaris aquas, 80  
 Cur te, inquit, cursu languentem, Phœbe, diurno  
 Hesperis recipit cærula mater aquis ?  
 Quid tibi cum Tethy ? Quid cum Tartesside lympha,  
 Dia quid immundo perluis ora salo ?  
 Frigora, Phœbe, mea melius captabis in umbra, 85  
 Huc ades, ardentes imbue rore comas.  
 Mollior egelida veniet tibi somnus in herba,  
 Huc ades, et gremio lumina pone meo.  
 Quaque jaces, circum mulcebit lene susurrans

poetry in this description or personification of Earth.

69. *Cinnamea Zephyrus leve plaudit odorifer ala,*] See El. iii. 47.

Serpit odoríferas per opes levis aura Favoni.

And Comus, v. 989.

And west winds with muskic wing  
About the cedarn allies fling, &c.

And Par. Lost, b. viii. 515.

—Gentle airs  
Whisper'd it to the woods, and from  
their wings  
Flung rose, flung odours, from the  
spicy shrub.

83. *Quid tibi cum Tethy? &c.*] In the manner of Ovid, Epist. Heroid. vi. 47.

*Quid mihi cum Minys? Quid cum Tritonide pinu?*

*Quid tibi cum patrio, navita Tiphy, mea?*

See above, El. iii. 33.

89. —*mulcebit lene susurrans*

- Aura, per humentes corpora fusa rosas. 90  
 Nec me (crede mihi) terrent Semeleia fata,  
 Nec Phaetonteo fumidus axis equo ;  
 Cum tu, Phœbe, tuo sapientius uteris igni,  
 Huc ades, et gremio lumina pone meo.  
 Sic Tellus lasciva suos suspirat amores ; 95  
 Matris in exemplum cætera turba ruunt :  
 Nunc etenim toto currit vagus orbe Cupido,  
 Languentesque fovet solis ab igne faces.  
 Insonuere novis lethalia cornua nervis,  
 Triste micant ferro tela corusca novo. 100  
 Jamque vel invictam tentat superasse Dianam,  
 Quæque sedet sacro Vesta pudica foco.  
 Ipsa senescentem reparat Venus annua formam,  
 Atque iterum tepido creditur orta mari.  
 Marmoreas juvenes clamant Hymenæe per urbes, 105  
 Littus io Hymen, et cava saxa sonant.  
 Cultior ille venit, tunicaque decentior apta,  
 Puniceum redolet vestis odora crocum.

*Aura, per humentes corpora fusa  
 rosas.]*

See note on v. 69. and El. iii. 48.

*Aura sub innumeris humida nata  
 rosas.*

Again, Par. Reg. b. ii. 363.

—And winds,  
 Of gentlest gale, Arabian odours  
 fann'd  
 From their soft wings, and Flora's  
 earliest smells.

Where see the note.

89. See also Mr. Dunster's  
 note on P. R. ii. 26. E.

91. —*Semeleia fata,*] An echo  
 to Ovid's *Semeleia proles*, Metam.  
 b. v. 329. And in other places.  
*Semele's* story is well known.

See Ovid's *Amor.* iii. 3. 37. And  
*Fast.* vi. 485.

93. More wisely than when  
 you lent your chariot to Phae-  
 ton, and when I was consumed  
 "by the excess of your heat."  
 He alludes to the speech or  
 complaint of *Tellus*, in the story  
 of *Phaeton*. See *Metam.* ii. 272.  
 And note on v. 58. Not to  
 insist particularly on the descrip-  
 tion of the person of *Milton's*  
*Tellus*, and the topics of per-  
 suasion selected in her ap-  
 proaches and her speech, the  
 general conception of her court-  
 ship of the sun is highly po-  
 etical.

108. *Puniceum redolet vestis*

Egrediturque frequens, ad amœni gaudia veris,

Virgineos aura cincta puella sinus : 110

Votum est cuique suum, votum est tamen omnibus  
unum,

Ut sibi quem cupiat, det Cytherea virum.

Nunc quoque septena modulatur arundine pastor,

Et sua quæ jungat carmina Phyllis habet.

Navita nocturno placat sua sidera cantu, 115

Delphinisque leves ad vada summa vocat.

Jupiter ipse alto cum conjuge ludit Olympo,

Convocat et famulos ad sua festa Deos.

Nunc etiam Satyri, cum sera crepuscula surgunt,

Pervolitant celeri florea rura choro, 120

Sylvanusque sua cyparissi fronde revinctus,

Semicaperque Deus, semideusque caper.

Quæque sub arboribus Dryades latuere vetustis,

Per juga, per solos expatiantur agros.

Per sata luxuriat fruticetaque Mænalius Pan, 125

Vix Cybele mater, vix sibi tuta Ceres ;

Atque aliquam cupidus prædatur Oreada Faunus,

Consultit in trepidos dum sibi nympha pedes ;

Jamque latet, latitansque cupit male tecta videri,

*odora crocum.*] So in L'Allegro.  
v. 124.

There let Hymen oft appear  
In saffron robe.

So also Browne, Brit. Past. b. ii.  
s. v. p. 131.

—A robe unfit,  
Till Hymen's saffron'd weeds had  
usber'd it.

The text has a reference to  
Ovid's Hymen, who is "*croceo*  
"*velatus amictu.*" Metam. x.  
l.

121. Sylvanus is crowned with

cypress from the boy Cyparissus.  
In the next line, "*Semicaperque*  
"*Deus*" is from Ovid, Fast. iv.  
752. See also Metam. xiv. 515.  
"*Semicaper Pan.*"

127. —*prædatur Oreada Fau-*  
*nus.*] See what is said of the  
mountain-nymph Liberty, in  
L'Allegro, v. 36.

129. Virgil is obvious, Ecl. iii.  
65.

Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante  
videri.

E.

Et fugit, et fugiens pervelit ipsa capi. 130  
 Dii quoque non dubitant cœlo præponere sylvas,  
 Et sua quisque sibi numina lucus habet.  
 Et sua quisque diu sibi numina lucus habeto,  
 Nec vos arborea dii precor ite domo.  
 Te referant miseris te, Jupiter, aurea terris 135  
 Sæcla, quid ad nimbos aspera tela redis?  
 Tu saltem lente rapidos age, Phœbe, jugales,  
 Qua potes, et sensim tempora veris eant;  
 Brumaque productas tarde ferat hispida noctes,  
 Ingruat et nostro serior umbra polo. 140

## ELEG. VI.

*Ad CAROLUM DEODATUM ruri commorantem,*

*Qui cum Idibus Decemb. scripsisset, et sua carmina excusari postulasset si solito minus essent bona, quod inter lautitias quibus erat ab amicis exceptus, haud satis felicem operam Musis dare se posse affirmabat, hoc habuit responsum.*

MITTO tibi sanam non pleno ventre salutem,  
 Qua tu distento forte carere potes.  
 At tua quid nostram prolectat Musa camœnam,  
 Nec sinit optatas posse seque tenebras?  
 Carmine scire velis quam te redamemque colamque, 5  
 Crede mihi vix hoc carmine scire queas.  
 Nam neque noster amor modulis includitur arctis,  
 Nec venit ad claudos integer ipse pedes.  
 Quam bene solennes epulas, hilaremque Decembrem,

134. *Nec vos arborea dii precor* 138. —*sensim tempora veris*  
*ite domo.*] Par. Lost, b. v. 137. *cant;*] See El. i. 48. and the  
 "From under shady arborous note.  
 "roof."



Festaque cœlifugam quæ coluere Deum, 10  
 Deliciasque refers, hiberni gaudia ruris,  
 Haustaque per lepidos Gallica musta focos !  
 Quid quereris refugam vino dapibusque poesin ?  
 Carmen amat Bacchum, carmina Bacchus amat.  
 Nec puduit Phœbum virides gestasse corymbos, 15  
 Atque hederam lauro præposuisse suæ.  
 Sæpius Aoniis clamavit collibus Eucæ  
 Mista Thyoneo turba novena choro.  
 Naso Corallæis mala carmina misit ab agris :  
 Non illic epulæ, non sata vitis erat. 20  
 Quid nisi vina, rosasque, racemiferumque Lyæum,  
 Cantavit brevibus Teïa Musa modis ?

12. *Haustaque per lepidos Gallica musta focos!*] See Sonnet to Laurence, xx. iii. 10.

Where shall we sometimes meet, and  
 by the fire  
 Help waste a sullen day ?  
 What neat repast shall feast us, light  
 and choice  
 Of Attic taste, with wine, &c.

Deodate had sent Milton a copy of verses, in which he described the festivities of Christmas.

19. *Naso Corallæis mala carmina misit ab agris:*] Ovid's *Tristia*, and *Epistles from Pontus*, supposed to be far inferior to his other works. This I cannot allow. Few of his works have more nature. And where there is haste and negligence, there is often a beautiful careless elegance. The *Corallæi* were the most savage of the *Getes*. Ovid calls them, "*pelliti Corallæi*," *Epist. Pont. iv. viii. 83*. And again, *ibid. iv. ii. 37*.

Hic mihi cui rectem, nisi flavis scripta *Corallæis*.

See our author above, *El. i. 21*. Ovid himself acknowledges, *ut supr. iv. ii. 20*.

Et carmen vena pauperiore fuit.

See also *Trist. i. xi. 35. iii. xiv. 35. iii. i. 18. v. vii. 59. v. xii. 35*. And *Epist. Pont. i. v. 3. iv. xiii. 4. 17*.

20. *Non illic epulæ, non sata vitis erat.*] Ovid, *Epist. Pont. i. x. 31*.

*Non epulis oneror: quarum si tanger amore,*  
*Est tamen in Geticis copia nulla locis.*

*Trist. iii. x. 71*.

*Non hic pampinea dulcis latet uva sub umbra.*

Again, *Epist. Pont. iii. i. 13*. and in other places.

21. *Quid nisi—*

*Cantavit brevibus Teïa Musa modis ?*

Ovid, *Trist. ii. 364*.

*Quid nisi cum multo venerem confundere vino*

*Præcepti Iyrici Teïa Musa senis ?*

Pindaricosque inflat numeros Teumesius Euan,  
 Et redolet sumptum pagina quæque merum;  
 Dum gravis everso currus crepat axe supinus, 25  
 Et volat Eleo pulvere fuscus eques.  
 Quadrimoque madens Lyricen Romanus Iaccho,  
 Dulce canit Glyceran, flavicomamque Chloen.  
 Jam quoque lauta tibi generoso mensa paratu  
 Mentis alit vires, ingeniumque fovet. 30  
 Massica fœcundam despumant pocula venam,  
 Fundis et ex ipso condita metra cado.  
 Addimus his artes, fusumque per intima Phœbum  
 Corda, favent uni Bacchus, Apollo, Ceres.  
 Scilicet haud mirum tam dulcia carmina per te, 35  
 Numine composito, tres peperisse Deos.  
 Nunc quoque Thressa tibi cælato barbitos auro  
 Insonat arguta molliter icta manu;

23. — *Teumesius Euan*,] *Teumesus*, *Τεumesos*, is a mountain of Boeotia, the district in which Thebes was situated; and its inhabitants were called *Τεουμεσιοι*, *Teumesii*. The Grecian Bacchus, the son of Jupiter and Semele, is often denominated *Thebanus*. But Bacchus had a more immediate and particular connection with this mountain. Pausanias relates a fable, that Bacchus, in revenge for some insult which he had received from the Thebans, nourished a fox in this mountain for the destruction of the city of Thebes; and that a dog being sent from Diana to kill this fox, both fox and dog were turned into stones. The fox was called *Τεουμεσια ἡ ἀλωπεξ*, *Teumesia vulpes*. Pausan. ΒΟΙΩ-

ΤΙΚ. p. 296. 10. edit. Francof. 1583. fol. See also Stephanus Byzant. Voc. ΤΕΥΜΗΕΟΣ. And Antoninus Liberal. Metam. p. 479. apud Gal. Histor. Poetic. Script. Poetic. Script. Paris. 1675. 8vo. Milton here puzzles his readers with minute and unnecessary learning. The meaning of the line is this. "The Theban god Bacchus inspires the numbers of his congenial Pin-dar, the Theban poet."

37. *Nunc quoque Thressa tibi*, &c.] The Thracian harp. Orpheus was of Thrace. Ovid, Epist. Heroid. iii. 118.

*Thraciam digitis increpuisse lyram.*

He has "th' Orphean lyre," Par. Lost, iii. 17. See note on Il Pens. v. 105.

Auditurque chelys suspensa tapetia circum,  
 Virgineos tremula quæ regat arte pedes. 40  
 Illa tuas saltem teneant spectacula Musas,  
 Et revocent, quantum crapula pellit iners.  
 Crede mihi, dum psallit ebur, comitataque plectrum  
 Implet odoratos festa chorea tholos,  
 Percipies tacitum per pectora serpere Phœbum, 45  
 Quale repentinus permeat ossa calor,  
 Perque puellares oculos, digitumque sonantem,  
 Irruet in totos lapsa Thalia sinus.  
 Namque Elegia levis multorum cura Deorum est,  
 Et vocat ad numeros quemlibet illa suos ; 50  
 Liber adest elegis, Eratoque, Ceresque, Venusque,  
 Et cum purpurea matre tenellus Amor.  
 Talibus inde licent convivia larga poetis,  
 Sæpius et veteri commaduisse mero :  
 At qui bella refert, et adulto sub Jove cœlum, 55  
 Heroasque pios, semideosque duces,  
 Et nunc sancta canit superum consulta deorum,  
 Nunc latrata fero regna profunda cane,  
 Ille quidem parce, Samii pro more magistri,  
 Vivat, et innocuos præbeat herba cibos ; 60  
 Stet prope fagineo pellucida lympa catillo,  
 Sobriaque e puro pocula fonte bibat.  
 Additur huic scelerisque vacans, et casta juvenus,  
 Et rigidi mores, et sine labe manus.  
 Qualis veste nitens sacra, et lustralibus undis, 65  
 Surgis ad infensos augur iture Deos.  
 Hoc ritu vixisse ferunt post rapta sagacem

39. *Auditurque chelys suspensa tapetia circum,*] See the note on *Tapestry halls*, *Comus*, 324.      65. —*lustralibus undis,*] See note on *Comus*, v. 913.

Lumina Tiresian, Ogygiumque Linon,  
 Et lare devoto profugum Calchanta, senemque  
 Orpheon edomitis sola per antra feris ; 70  
 Sic dapis exiguus, sic rivi potor Homerus  
 Dulichium vexit per freta longa virum,  
 Et per monstificam Perseiæ Phœbados aulam,  
 Et vada fœmineis insidiosa sonis,  
 Perque tuas, rex ime, domos, ubi sanguine nigro 75  
 Dicitur umbrarum detinuisse greges.  
 Diis etenim sacer est vates, divumque sacerdos,  
 Spirat et occultum pectus et ora Jovem.  
 At tu siquid agam scitabere (si modo saltem  
 Esse putas tanti noscere siquid agam) 80  
 Paciferum canimus cœlesti semine regem,  
 Fausta que sacratis sæcula pacta libris ;  
 Vagiturque Dei, et stabulantem paupere tecto  
 Qui suprema suo cum patre regna colit ;  
 Stelli parumque polum, modulantesque æthere turmas,  
 Et subito elisos ad sua fana Deos. 86  
 Dona quidem dedimus Christi natalibus illa,  
 Illa sub auroram lux mihi prima tulit.

69. Virgil and Milton disagree on the subject of Orpheus's age. See Georg. iv. 524.

Decerptum latos juvenem sparsere per agros.

Milton perhaps would insinuate that his diet had a tendency to promote longevity. Virgil of course would not make the women of Thrace tear an old man in pieces for his neglect of them. Symmons.

72. *Dulichium vexit*, &c.] It is worthy of remark, that Milton here illustrates Homer's poetical character by the Odyssey, and

not by the Iliad.

73. *Et per monstificam Perseiæ Phœbados aulam*,] Circe was the daughter of the sun, and, as some say, of Hecate. Ovid, *Metam.* vii. 74. "Hecates *Perseidos aras*." And Remed. Amor. 263. "Quid tibi profuerunt, Circe, *Perseidos herbæ*?" And Buchanan has "Circe *Perseia*." El. vii. 17. p. 44. ut *supr.* And Ovid mentions Circe's *Aula*, *Metam.* xiv. 45.

—Perque ferarum  
 Agmen adulantum media procedit ab aula.

Te quoque pressa manent patriis meditata cicutis,  
 Tu mihi, cui recitem, iudicis instar eris.\*

90

## ELEG. VII. Anno Ætatis 19.

NONDUM blanda tuas leges, Amathusia, noram,

Et Paphio vacuum pectus ab igne fuit.

Sæpe cupidineas, puerilia tela, sagittas,

Atque tuum sprevi maxime numen Amor.

Tu puer imbelles, dixi, transfige columbas,

5

Conveniunt tenero mollia bella duci :

Aut de passeribus timidos age, parve, triumphos,

Hæc sunt militiæ digna trophæa tuæ.

In genus humanum quid inania dirigis arma ?

Non valet in fortes ista pharetra viros.

10

Non tulit hoc Cyprius, neque enim Deus ullus ad iras

Promptior, et duplici jam ferus igne calet.

Ver erat, et summæ radians per culmina villæ

Attulerat primam lux tibi, Maie, diem :

At mihi adhuc refugam quærebant lumina noctem, 15

89. *Te quoque pressa manent patriis meditata cicutis,*]

Would sit and hearken even to ecstacy, &c.

His English Ode on the Nativity. This he means to submit to Deodate's inspection. "You shall next have some of my English poetry."

See Ovid, Epist. Pont. iv. ii. 37.

Hic, mea cui recitem, &c.

90. *Tu mihi, cui recitem, iudicis instar eris.*] In Comus, we have supposed the simple "shepherd lad," skilled in plants, to be the same Charles Deodate, to whom this Elegy is addressed, v. 619. See supr. p. 429. For, as here,

\* The transitions and connections of this Elegy, are conducted with the skill and address of a master, and form a train of allusions and digressions, productive of fine sentiment and poetry. From a trifling and unimportant circumstance, the reader is gradually led to great and lofty imagery.

He lov'd me well, and oft would bid me sing ;  
 Which when I did, he on the tender grass

15. *At mihi adhuc refugam quærebant lumina noctem,*

Nec matutinum sustinere jubar.

Astat Amor lecto, pictis Amor impiger alis,

Prodidit astantem mota pharetra Deum :

Prodidit et facies, et dulce minantis ocelli,

Et quicquid puero dignum et Amore fuit.

20

Talis in æterno juvenis Sigeius Olympo

Miscet amatori pocula plena Jovi ;

Aut, qui formosas pellexit ad oscula nymphas,

Thiodamantæus Naiade raptus Hylas.

Addideratque iras, sed et has decuisse putares,

25

Addideratque truces, nec sine felle, minas.

Et miser exemplo sapuisses tutius, inquit,

Nunc mea quid possit dextera, testis eris.

Inter et expertos vires numerabere nostras,

*Nec matutinum sustinere ju-  
bar.]*

Here is the elegance of poetical expression. But he really complains of the weakness of his eyes, which began early. He has "light unsufferable," Ode Nativ. v. 8.

17. *Astat Amor lecto, &c.]* In these lines, (17—24.) Milton had probably an eye to Spenser's description of Fancy in his *Mask of Cupid*.

The first was Fancy, like a lovely boy,  
Of rare aspect, and beauty without  
peer ;

Matchable either to that Imp of Troy,  
Whom Jove did love and chose his  
cup to bear,

Or that same dainty lad, which was  
so dear

To great Alcides, that, when as he  
dy'd,

He wailed woman-like with many a  
tear,

And every wood and every valley  
wide

He fill'd with Hylas' name ; the  
nymphs eke Hylas cry'd.

*F. Q. iii. xii. 7. Dunster.*

21. *Talis in æterno, &c.]* This line is from Tibullus, iv. ii. 13.

*Talis in æterno felix Vertumnus  
Olympo.*

25. *Addideratque iras, sed et  
has decuisse putares,]* Twelfth  
Night, a. iii. s. 1.

O what a deal of scorn looks beautiful  
In the contempt and anger of his lip.

Compare Anacreon's Bathyllus,  
xxviii. 12. And Theocritus, ΕΡΑΕ-  
ΤΗΣ, Idyll. xviii. 14.

—ΑΛΛΑ καὶ οὐρανὸν

Ἡς καλὸς ἐξ ὧντος ἐφελκόμενος πολλὰς  
ἰσχυρὰς.

And Shakespeare's Venus and  
Adonis, edit. 1596. Signat. A. iiij.

Which bred more beauty in his angry  
eyes.

We find also the same idea in his  
Anton. and Cleopatr. i. i.

—Fie, wrangling queen !

Whom every thing becomes : to chide,  
to laugh, &c.

- Et faciam vero per tua damna fidem. 30  
 Ipse ego, si nescis, strato Pythone superbum  
 Edomui Phœbum, cessit et ille mihi;  
 Et quoties meminit Peneidos, ipse fatetur  
 Certius et gravius tela nocere mea.  
 Me nequit adductum curvare peritius arcum, 35  
 Qui post terga solet vincere, Parthus eques:  
 Cydoniusque mihi cedit venator, et ille  
 Inscius uxori qui necis author erat.  
 Est etiam nobis ingens quoque victus Orion,  
 Herculeæque manus, Herculeusque comes. 40  
 Jupiter ipse licet sua fulmina torqueat in me,  
 Hærebunt lateri spicula nostra Jovis.  
 Cætera quæ dubitas melius mea tela docebunt,  
 Et tua non leviter corda petenda mihi.  
 Nec te, stulte, tuæ poterunt defendere Musæ, 45  
 Nec tibi Phœbeus porriget anguis opem.  
 Dixit, et aurato quatiens mucrone sagittam,

37. *Cydoniusque mihi, &c.*] Perhaps indefinitely as the *Parthus eques*, just before. The Cydonians were famous for hunting, which implies archery. See Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 22. If a person is here intended, he is most probably Hippolytus. Cydon was a city of Crete. See Euripides, *Hippol.* v. 18.. But then he is mentioned here as an archer. Virgil ranks the Cydonians with the Parthians, for their skill in the bow, *Æn.* xii. 852.

*Ibid.* — *et ille, &c.*] Cephalus, who unknowingly shot his wife Procris.

38. *Est etiam nobis ingens quoque victus Orion,*] Orion was also a famous hunter. But for his amours we must consult Ovid,

*Art. Amator.* i. 731. See Parthenius, *Erotic.* cap. xx.

46. *Nec tibi Phæbeus porriget anguis opem.*] "No medicine will avail you. Not even the serpent, which Phæbus sent to Rome to cure the city of a pestilence." See Ovid, *Metam.* xi. 742.

*Huc se de Latin pinu Phæbeus anguis contulit, &c.*

Where see the fable at large.

47. — *aurato quatiens mucrone sagittam,*] So in *Par. Lost*, b. iv. 763.

Here Love his golden shafts employs,  
 here lights

His constant lamp, and waves his  
 purple wings.

Where see the note.

Evolat in tepidos Cypridos ille sinus.  
 At mihi risuro tonuit ferus ore minaci,  
 Et mihi de puero non metus ullus erat. 50  
 Et modo qua nostri spatiantur in urbe Quirites,  
 Et modo villarum proxima rura placent.  
 Turba frequens, facieque simillima turba dearum,  
 Splendida per medias itque reditque vias :  
 Auctaque luce dies gemino fulgore coruscat : 55  
 Fallor ? An et radios hinc quoque Phœbus habet ?  
 Hæc ego non fugi spectacula grata severus,  
 Impetus et quo me fert juvenilis, agor,  
 Lumina luminibus male providus obvia misi,  
 Neve oculos potui continuisse meos. 60  
 Unam forte aliis supereminuisse notabam,  
 Principium nostri lux erat illa mali.  
 Sic Venus optaret mortalibus ipsa videri,  
 Sic regina Deum conspicienda fuit.  
 Hanc memor objecit nobis malus ille Cupido, 65  
 Solus et hos nobis texuit ante dolos.  
 Nec procul ipse vafer latuit, multæque sagittæ,  
 Et facis a tergo grande pependit onus :  
 Nec mora, nunc ciliis hæsit, nunc virginis ori,  
 Insilit hinc labiis, insidet inde genis : 70  
 Et quascunque agilis partes jaculator oberrat,  
 Hei mihi, mille locis pectus inerme ferit.  
 Protinus insoliti subierunt corda furores,

57. See note El. i. 50. In Milton's youth the fashionable places of walking in London were Hyde Park, and Gray's Inn walks. This appears from Sir A. Cokain, Milton's contemporary. Poems, Lond. 1662.

12mo. Written much earlier. A young lady, he says, p. 35.

Frequents the theaters, *Hide Park*, or  
 els talks  
 Away her pretious time in *Gray's Inn*  
*walks*.



Uror amans intus, flammaque totus eram.  
 Interea misero quæ jam mihi sola placebat, 75  
 Ablata est oculis non reditura meis.  
 Ast ego progredior tacite querebundus, et excors,  
 Et dubius volui sæpe referre pedem.  
 Findor, et hæc remanet: sequitur pars altera votum,  
 Raptaque tam subito gaudia flere juvat. 80  
 Sic dolet amissum proles Junonia cælum,  
 Inter Lemniacos præcipitata focos:  
 Talis et abreptum solem respexit, ad Orcum  
 Vectus ab attonitis Amphiaræus equis.  
 Quid faciam infelix, et luctu victus? Amores 85  
 Nec licet inceptos ponere, neve sequi.  
 O utinam, spectare semel mihi detur amatos  
 Vultus, et coram tristia verba loqui!  
 Forsitan et duro non est adamante creata,  
 Forte nec ad nostras surdeat illa preces! 90  
 Crede mihi, nullus sic infelicitè arsit,  
 Ponar in exemplo primus et unus ego.  
 Parce precor, teneri cum sis Deus ales amoris,  
 Pugnent officio nec tua facta tuo.  
 Jam tuus O certe est mihi formidabilis arcus, 95  
 Nate dea, jaculis nec minus igne potens:

84. *Vectus ab attonitis Amphiaræus equis.*] An echo to a pentameter in Ovid, Ep. Pont. iii. i. 52.

*Notus humo merulis Amphiaræus equis.*  
 See Statius, Theb. vii. 821.

Illum ingens haurit specus, et transire  
 parantes  
 Mergit equos; non arma manu, non  
 frena remisit;  
 Sicut erat, rectos defert in Tartara  
 currus;  
 Respexitque cadens cælum, campumque  
 coire  
 Ingemuit, &c.

The application is beautiful from a young mind teeming with classical history and imagery. The allusion, in the last couplet, to Vulcan, is perhaps less happy, although the compliment is greater. In the example of Amphiaræus, the sudden and striking transition from light and the sun to a subterraneous gloom, perhaps is more to the poet's purpose.

Et tua fumabunt nostris altaria donis,  
 Solus et in superis tu mihi summus eris.  
 Deme meos tandem, verum nec deme, furores,  
 Nescio cur, miser est suaviter omnis amans : 100  
 Tu modo da facilis, posthæc mea siqua futura est,  
 Cuspis amatueros figat ut una duos,

HÆC ego, mente olim læva, studioque supino,  
 Nequitiae posui vana trophæa meæ.  
 Scilicet abreptum sic me malus impulit error,  
 Indocilisque ætas prava magistra fuit.  
 Donec Socraticos umbrosa Academia rivos 5  
 Præbuit, admissum dedocuitque jugum.  
 Protinus extinctis ex illo tempore flammis,  
 Cincta rigent multo pectora nostra gelu.  
 Unde suis frigus metuit puer ipse sagittis,  
 Et Diomedeam vim timet ipsa Venus.\* 10

1. The elegiac poets were among the favourite classical authors of Milton's youth, Apol. Smectymn. "Others were the smooth Elegiac Poets, whereof the schools are not scarce: whom, both for the pleasing sound of their numerous writing, which in imitation I found most easy, and most agreeable to nature's part in me; and for their matter, which what it is, there be few who know not, I was so allured to read, that no recreation came to me better welcome." Prose W. vol. i. 100.

5. —*umbrosa Academia*] The studious walks, and shades, "the

"olive grove of Academe, "Plato's retirement." Par. Reg. iv. 243.

10. *Et Diomedeam vim timet ipsa Venus.*] Ovid makes this sort of allusion to Homer's incident of Venus wounded by Diomed. In the *Remedy of Love*, v. 5.

Non ego Tydides, a quo tua mucia mater  
 In liquidum rediit æthera, Martis equis.

See also *Metam.* xiv. 491. And *Epist. Pont.* ii. ii. 13.

These lines are an epilogistic palinode to the last Elegy. The Socratic doctrines of the shady Academe soon broke the bonds

of beauty. In other words, his return to the University.

They were probably written when the Latin poems were prepared for the press in 1645.

\* Milton here, at an early period of life, renounces the levities of love and gallantry. This was not the case with Buchanan, who unbecomingly prolonged his *amorous descent* to graver years, and who is therefore obliquely censured by Milton in the following passage of *Lycidas*, hitherto not exactly understood, v. 67.

Were it not better done, as others use,  
To sport with *Amaryllis* in the shade  
Or with the tangles of *Neera's* hair?

The *Amaryllis*, to whom Milton alludes, is the *Amaryllis* of Buchanan, the subject of a poem called *Desiderium Lutetiae*. See *Silvæ*, iii. tom. ii. p. 50. Opp. Edinb. 1715. fol. It begins,

O formosa *Amarylli*, tuo jam septima  
bruma

Me procul aspectu, &c.

The common poetical name, *Amaryllis*, might indeed have been accidentally adopted by both poets; nor does it at first sight appear, that Milton used it with any restrictive meaning. But Buchanan had another mistress whom he calls *Neera*, whose golden hair makes a very splendid figure in his verses, and which he has complimented more than once in the most hyperbolic style. In his last *Elegy*, he raises the following extravagant fiction on the luxuriant tangles of this lady's hair. Cupid is puzzled how to subdue the icy poet. His arrows can do nothing. At length, he hits upon the stratagem of cutting a golden lock from *Neera's* head, while she is asleep, with which the

poet is bound; and thus entangled he is delivered a prisoner to *Neera*. *El. ix. p. 46. ut sup.*

Pervida, tot tellis non proficientibus,  
ira  
Fugit ad auxilium, dia *Neera*,  
tuum;  
Et capiti assistens, te dormitante,  
capillum  
Auricolum *Neera* tollit ab orbe comæ:  
Et mihi ridenti (quis enim non talia  
vincla  
Rideat?) arridens brachia vinxit  
Amor;  
Luctantemque diu, sed frustra, eva-  
dere, traxit  
Capillum, dominæ restituitque  
meæ.

This fiction is again pursued in his *Epigrams*. Lib. i. xlv. p. 77. *ibid.*

Liber eram, vacuo mihi cum sub  
corde *Neera*  
Ex oculis fixit spicula missa suis:  
Deinde unam evellens ex auricomæ  
capillum  
Vertice, captivis vincla dedit ma-  
nibus:  
Risi equidem, fateor, vani ludibria  
nerus,  
Hoc laqueo facilem dum mihi spero  
fugam:  
Ast ubi tentanti spes irrita cessit,  
ahenis  
Non secus ac manicis implicitus  
genui.  
Et modo membra pilo tractus miser  
abstraher uno.

And to this *Neera* many copies are addressed both in Buchanan's *Epigrams*, and in his *Hendecasyllables*. Milton's insinuation, as others use, cannot therefore be doubted. "Why should I strictly meditate the thankless muse, and write sublime poetry which is not regarded? I had better, like some other poets, who might be more properly employed, write idle compliments to *Amaryllis* and *Neera*." Perhaps the old reading, "*Hid* in the tangles of *Neera's* hair," tends to confirm this sense. It

should be remembered, that Buchanan was now a popular and familiar modern Latin classic, and that Milton was his rival in the same mode of composition. And of our author's allusions to him, instances have before occurred, and will occur again. I am obliged to an unknown critic, for the leading idea of this very just and ingenious elucidation of a passage in Lycidas.

## EPIGRAMMATUM LIBER.

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### I. *In Proditionem Bombardicam.*

CUM simul in regem nuper satrapasque Britannos

Ausus es infandum, perfide Fauxe, nefas,  
Fallor? An et mitis voluisti ex parte videri,

Et pensare mala cum pietate scelus?  
Scilicet hos alti missurus ad atria cœli, 5

Sulphureo curru, flammivolisque rotis:  
Qualiter ille, feris caput inviolabile Parcis,  
Liquit Iordanios turbine raptus agros.

### II. *In eandem.*

SICCINE tentasti cœlo donasse Iacobum,

Quæ septemgemino Bellua monte lates?  
Ni meliora tuum poterit dare munera numen,  
Parce precor, donis insidiosa tuis.

Ille quidem sine te consortia serus adivit 5  
Astra, nec inferni pulveris usus ope.

Sic potius fœdos in cœlum pelle cucullos,  
Et quot habet brutos Roma profana Deos:  
Namque hac aut alia nisi quemque adjuveris arte,  
Crede mihi, cœli vix bene scandet iter. 10

6. Elijah. See note on Par. *monte lates?*] The Pope, called  
Reg. ii. 17. in the theological language of

2. *Quæ septemgemino Bellua* the times *The Beast*.

III. *In eandem.*

**PURGATOREM** animæ derisit Iacobus ignem,

Et sine quo superum non adeunda domus.

Frenduit hoc trina monstrum Latiale corona,

Movit et horrificum cornua dena minax.

Et nec inultus ait, temnes mea sacra, Britanne :

5

Supplicium sprete religione dabis.

Et si stelligeras unquam penetraveris arces,

Non nisi per flammās triste patebit iter.

O quam funesto cecinisti proxima vero,

Verbaque ponderibus vix caritura suis !

10

Nam prope Tartareo sublime rotatus ab igni,

Ibat ad æthereas, umbra perusta, plagas.

IV. *In eandem.*

**QUEM** modo Roma suis devoverat impia diris,

Et Styge damnarat, Tænarioque sinu ;

Hunc, vice mutata, jam tollere gestit ad astra,

Et cupit ad superos evehere usque Deos.

V. *In inventorem bombardæ.*

**IAPETIONIDEM** laudavit cæca vetustas,

Qui tulit ætheream solis ab axe facem ;

At mihi major erit, qui lurida creditur arma,

Et trifidum fulmen surripuisse Jovi.

4

1. —*derisit Iacobus ignem.*] Compare the quantity of *Iacobus* in Epigr. ii. 1. and *In Quintum Novembris*, 1. E.

afterwards transferred to the *Paradise Lost*. Where the fallen angels are exulting in their new invention of fire-arms, b. vi. 490.

4. *Et trifidum fulmen surripuisse Jovi.*] This thought was

—They shall fear we have disarm'd  
The thunderer of his only dreaded  
bolt.

VI. *Ad Leonoram Romæ canentem.\**

ANGELUS unicuique suus, sic credite gentes,

Obtigit æthereis ales ab ordinibus.

\* Adriana of Mantua, for her beauty surnamed the Fair, and her daughter *Leonora Baroni*, the lady whom Milton celebrates in these three Latin Epigrams, were esteemed by their contemporaries the finest singers in the world. Giovanni Battista Doni, in his book of *præstantia Musicæ veteris*, published in 1647, speaking of the merit of some modern vocal performers, declares that Adriana, or her daughter Leonora, would suffer injury by being compared to the ancient Sappho. B. ii. p. 57. There is a volume of Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish poems in praise of Leonora, printed at Rome, [probably at Bracciano. Todd.] entitled *Applausi poetici alle glorie della Signora Leonora Baroni*. Nicus Erythreus, in his *Pinacotheca*, calls this collection the *Theatrum* of that exquisite Songstress Eleonora Baroni, "in quo, "omnes hic Romæ quotquot "ingenio et poetice facultatis "laude præstant, carminibus, "cum Etruscæ tum Latine scriptis, singulari ac prope divino, "mulieris illius canendi artificio, "tamquam faustos quosdam clamosos, "mores et plausus edunt, &c." Pinac. ii. p. 427. Lips. 1712. 12mo. In the *Poesie Liriche* of Fulvio Testi, there is an encomiastic Sonnet to Leonora, *Poes. Lyr. del Conte Fulvio Testi*, Ven. 1691. p. 361.

Se l' angioletta mia treuola, e chiaro,  
&c.

M. Maugars, Prior of S. Peter de Mac at Paris, king's interpreter of the English language, and in his time a capital practitioner on the viol, has left this eulogy on Leonora and her mother, at the end of his judicious *Discours sur la Musique d' Italia*, printed with the life of Malherbe, and other treatises, at Paris, 1672. 12mo. "Leonora "has fine parts, and a happy "judgment in distinguishing "good from bad music: she "understands it perfectly well, "and even composes, which "makes her absolute mistress of "what she sings, and gives her "the most exact pronunciation "and expression of the sense of "the words. She does not "pretend to beauty, yet she is "far from being disagreeable, "nor is she a coquet. She sings "with an air of confident and "liberal modesty, and with a "pleasing gravity. Her voice "reaches a large compass of "notes, is just, clear, and melodious; and she softens or "raises it without constraint or "grimace. Her raptures and "sighs are not too tender; her "looks have nothing impudent, "nor do her gestures betray any "thing beyond the reserve of a "modest girl. In passing from "one song to another, she "shews sometimes the divisions "of the enharmonic and chromatic species with so much "air and sweetness, that every "bearer is ravished with that

Quid mirum, Leonora, tibi si gloria major ?

Nam tua præsentem vox sonat ipsa Deum.

Aut Deus, aut vacui certe mens tertia cœli

5

Per tua secreto guttura serpit agens ;

Serpit agens, facilisque docet mortalia corda

Sensim immortalī assuescere posse sono.

Quod si cuncta quidem Deus est, per cunctaque fusus,

In te una loquitur, cætera mutus habet.

10

" delicate and difficult mode of  
" singing. She has no need of  
" any person to assist her with a  
" theorbo or viol, one of which  
" is required to make her singing  
" complete; for she plays per-  
" fectly well herself on both  
" those instruments. In short,  
" I have been so fortunate as to  
" hear her sing several times  
" above thirty different airs,  
" with second and third stanzas  
" of her own composition. But  
" I must, not forget, that one  
" day she did me the particular  
" favour to sing with her mother  
" and her sister: her mother  
" played upon the lute, her  
" sister upon the harp, and  
" herself upon the theorbo. This  
" concert, composed of three fine  
" voices, and of three different  
" instruments, so powerfully cap-  
" tivated my senses, and threw  
" me into such raptures, that I  
" forgot my mortality, *et crus*  
" *être déjà parmi les anges, jouis-*  
" *sant des contentemens des bien-*  
" *heureux.*" See Bayle, Dict.  
Baroni. Hawkins, Hist. Mus. iv.

196. To the excellence of the mother Adriana on the lute, Milton alludes in these lines of the second of these three Epigrams, v. 4.

*Et te Pieria sensisset voce canentem  
Aurea maternæ filia movere lyra.*

When Milton was at Rome, he was introduced to the concerts of Cardinal Barberini, afterwards Pope Urban the Eighth, where he heard Leonora sing and her mother play. It was the fashion for all the ingenious strangers who visited Rome, to leave some verses on Leonora. See the Canzone, *supr.* p. 329. and Sonn. iv. Pietro Della Valle, who wrote about 1640, a very judicious Discourse on the music of his own times, speaks of the fanciful and masterly style in which Leonora touched the arch-lute to her own accompaniments. At the same time, he celebrates her sister Catherine, and their mother Adriana. See the works of Battista Doni, vol. ii. at Florence, 1768.

1. *Angelus unicusque, &c.*] See note on Comus, v. 658.



VII. *Ad eandem.*

ALTERA Torquatum cepit Leonora poetam,

Cujus ab insano cessit amore furens.

Ah miser ille tuo quanto felicius ævo

Perditus, et propter te, Leonora, foret !

Et te Pieria sensisset voce canentem

5

Aurea maternæ fila movere lyræ :

Quamvis Dircaeo torsisset lumina Pentheo

Sævior, aut totus desipuisset iners,

Tu tamen errantes cæca vertigine sensus

Voce eadem poteras composuisse tua ;

10

1. *Altera Torquatum cepit Leonora*] In the Life of Tasso, by G. Battista Manso, mention is made of three different ladies of the name of Leonora, of whom Tasso is there said to have been successively enamoured. Gier. Lib. edit. Haym, Lond. 4to. 1724. p. 23. The first was Leonora of Este, sister of Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara, at whose court Tasso resided. The Countess San Vitale was the second Leonora, to whom Tasso was said to be much attached, p. 26. Manso relates, that the third Leonora was a young lady in the service of the princess of Este, who was very beautiful, and to whom Tasso paid great attention, p. 27. He addressed many very elegant love-verses to each of these three different ladies ; but as the pieces addressed to Leonora princess of Este have more passion than *galantry*, it may justly be inferred, notwithstanding the pains he took to conceal his affection, that she was the real favourite of his art. Among the many re-

marks that have been made on the Gierusalemme Liberata of Tasso, I do not remember to have seen it observed, that this great poet probably took the hint of his fine subject, from a book very popular in his time, written by the celebrated Benedetto Accolti, and entitled, *De Bello a Christianis contra Barbaros gesto, pro Christi Sepulchro et Judæa recuperandis*, lib. iv. Venetiis per Bern. Venetum de Vitalibus, 1532. 4to. It is dedicated to Pietro de Medici. Dr. J. War-

ton.  
This allusion to Tasso's Leonora, and the turn which it takes, are inimitably beautiful.

7. For the story of Pentheus, a king of Thebes, see Euripides's *Bacchæ*, where he sees two sons, &c. v. 916. Theocritus, *Idyll*. xxvi. Virgil, *Æn*. iv. 469. But Milton, in *torsisset lumina*, alludes to the rage of Pentheus in Ovid, *Metam*. iii. 577.

Aspicit hunc oculis Pentheus, quos  
ira tremendos  
Fecerat.

Et poteras, ægro spirans sub corde, quietem  
Flexanimo cantu restituisset sibi.

VIII. *Ad eandem.*

CREDULA quid liquidam Sirena Neapoli jactas,  
Claraque Parthenopes fana Acheloïados ;  
Littoreamque tua defunctam Naiada ripa,  
Corpora Chalcidico sacra dedisse rogo ?  
Illa quidem vivitque, et amœna Tibridis unda  
Mutavit rauci murmura Pausilipi.  
Illic Romulidum studiis ornata secundis,  
Atque homines cantu detinet atque Deos.

IX. *In SALMASII HUNDREDAM.\**

QUIS expedit Salmasio suam *Hundredam*,  
Picamque docuit verba nostra conari ?  
Magister artis venter, et Jacobei  
Centum, exulantis viscera marsupii regis.

1, 2. Parthenope's tomb was at Naples: she was one of the Sirens. She is called *Parthenope Acheloias*, in Silius Italicus, xii. 35. See Comus, v. 878.

By the songs of Sirens sweet,  
By dead Parthenope's dear tomb, &c.

*Chalcidicus* is elsewhere explained. See Epitaph. Damon. v. 182. I need not enlarge on the grotto of Pausilipo, near Naples.

\* This Epigram is in the Defence against Salmasius, Prose Works, ii. 296.

1. Salmasius, in his Defence of the King, had awkwardly at-

tempted to turn some of our forensic appellations into Latin; such as, the county court, *sheriff's turn*, the *hundred of a county*, &c.

4. King Charles the Second, now in exile, and sheltered in Holland, gave Salmasius, who was a professor at Leyden, one hundred Jacobuses to write his Defence, 1649. Wood asserts that Salmasius had no reward for his book. He says, that at Leyden the king sent Doctor Morley, afterwards bishop, to the apologist, with his thanks, "but not with a purse of gold, as *Johr Jil-* ton the *impudent lyer* repo- l." Ath. Oxon. ii. 770.

Quod si dolosi spes refulserit nummi, 5  
 Ipse, Antichristi modo qui primatum Papæ  
 Minatus uno est dissipare sufflatu,  
 Cantabit ultro Cardinalitium melos.

X. *In Salmasium.\**

GAUDETE scombri, et quicquid est piscium salo,  
 Qui frigida hyeme incolitis argentes freta !  
 Vestrum misertus ille Salmasius Eques  
 Bonus, amicire nuditatem cogitat ;  
 Chartæque largus, apparat papyrinos 5  
 Vobis cucullos, præferentes Claudii  
 Insignia, nomenque et decus, Salmasii :  
 Gestetis ut per omne cetarium forum  
 Equitis clientes, scriniis mungentium  
 Cubito virorum, et capsulis, gratissimos. 10

6. This topic of ridicule, drawn from the poverty of the exiled king, is severely reprobated by Dr. Johnson, as what "might be expected from the *savageness* of Milton." Life of Addison. Oldmixon, he adds, had *mean-ness* enough to delight in bilking an alderman of London, who had *more money* than the Pretender.

8. Will change his note: after affronting the pope, will sing the pope's praises with the most obsequious adulation of a cardinal. See the prologue to Persius's Satires.

\* This is in the *Defensio secunda*, ut *supr.* ii. 322. It is there introduced with the following ridicule on Morus, the subject of the next Epigram, for

having predicted the wonders to be worked by Salmasius's new edition, or rather reply. "Tu igitur, ut pisciculus ille ante ambulo, præcurris Balænam Salmasii." Mr. Steevens observes, that this is an idea analogous to Falstaffe's, "Here do I walk before thee, &c." although reversed as to the imagery.

7. Claudius Salmasius. Milton sneers at a circumstance which was true: Salmasius was really of an ancient and noble family.

9. *Cubito mungentium*, a cant appellation among the Romans for *fishmongers*. It was said to Horace, of his father, by way of laughing at his low birth, "Quoties ego vidi patrem tuum *cubito emungentem*?" Sueton. Vit. Horat. p. 525. Lips. 1748.

## XI.

GALLI ex concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori,  
Quis bene moratam, morigeramque neget ?\*

Horace's father was a seller of fish. The joke is, that the sheets of Salmasius's new book would be fit for nothing better than to wrap up fish: that they should be consigned to the stalls and shelves of fishmongers. He applies the same to his *Confuter*, who defended episcopacy, Apol. Smectymn. sect. viii. "Whose best folios are predestined to no better purpose, than to make winding sheets in Lent for pilchards." Prose Works, i. 121.

Salmasius's Reply was posthumous, and did not appear till after the Restoration: and his *Defensio* had no second edition.

\* From Milton's *Defensio Secunda*, ut supr. ii. 320. And his *Responsio* to Morus's Supplement, *ibid.* ii. 383. This distich was occasioned by a report, that Morus had debauched a favourite waiting maid of the wife of Salmasius, Milton's antagonist. See Burman's *Syllog. Epist.* iii. 307. Milton pretends that he picked it up by accident, and that it was written at Leyden. It appeared first, as I think, in the *Mercurius Politicus*, a sort of newspaper published at London once a week in two sheets in quarto, and commencing in June, 1649, by Marchmont Nedham, a virulent but versatile party scribbler, who sometimes libelled the republicans, and sometimes the royalists with an equal degree of scurrility, and who is called by Wood a *great crony* of

Milton. These papers, in or after the year 1654, perhaps at the instigation of our author, contain many pasquinades on Morus. Bayle, in the article *Morus*, cites a Letter from Tanaquil Faber. Where Faber, so late as 1658, under the words *calumniolæ* and *rumusculi*, alludes to some of Morus's gallantries: perhaps to this epigram, which served to keep them alive, and was still very popular. Morus laid himself open to Milton's humour, in asserting that he mistook the true spelling of the girl's name, "*Bontiam*, fateor, aliud apud me manuscriptum habet. Sed prima utrobique litera, quæ sola variat, ejusdem fere apud vos potestatis est. Alterum ego nomen, ut notius et elegantius, salvo criticorum jure, præposui." Autor. prose, &c. ut supr. ii. 383. And she is called *Bontia* in a citation of this Epigram in a letter of N. Heinsius, dated 1653. *Syllog.* ut supr. iii. 307. M. Colomies says, that Milton wrote, among other things against Morus, "un sanglant distique Latin dans la gazete de Londres, qui courroit alors toutes les semaines." Bibl. Chois. A La Rochelle, 1682. p. 19. 12mo.

Morus was strongly suspected to have written *Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cælum*, in 1652, an appendix to Salmasius against the king's murder. But the book was really written by Peter du Moulin the younger. Morus was only the publisher, except that

he wrote a Dedication to Charles the Second. Afterwards Salmasius and Morus had an irreconcilable quarrel about the division of sixty copies, which the printer had agreed to give to the one or the other. Burman's Syllog. Epist. iii. 648. Du Moulin actually owns the Regii Sanguinis Clamor, in his Reply to a Person of Honour, &c. Lond. 1675. 4to. p. 10, 45. "I had such a jealousie to see that traytor [Milton] praised for his language, that I writ against him Clamor, &c." A curious Letter in Thurloe's State Papers, relating to this business, has been overlooked, from Bourdeaux, the French ambassador in England, to Morus, dated Aug. 7, 1654. "Sir, at my arrival here, I found Milton's book so publick, that I perceived it was impossible to suppress it. This man [Milton] hath been told, that you were not the author of the book which he refuted; to which he answered, that he was at least assured, that you had caused it to be imprinted: that you had writ the Preface, and, he believes, some of the verses that are in it: and that, that is enough to justify him for setting upon you. He doth also add, he is very angry that he did not know several things which he hath heard since, being far worse, as he says, than any he put forth in his book; but he doth reserve them for another, if so be you answer this. I am very sorry for this quarrel which will have a long sequence, as I perceive; for after you have answered this, you may be sure he will reply with a more bloody one: for your adversary hath met

"with somebody here, who hath told him strange stories of you." Vol. ii. p. 529. See also a Letter of intelligence from the Hague to Thurloe, dated July 3, 1654. Ibid. p. 394. "They have here two or three copies of Milton against the famous Professour Morus, who doth all he can to suppress the book. Madam de Saumaise [Salmasius's wife] hath a great many letters of Morus, which she hath ordered to be printed to render him so much the more ridiculous. He saith now, that he is not the authour of the Preface [Dedication] to the Clamor: but we know very well to the contrary. One Ulack [the printer of the Clamor] a printer, is reprinting Milton's book, with an apology for himself: but Ulack holds it for an honour to be reckoned on that side of Salmasius and Morus.—Morus doth all he can to persuade him from printing it." Salmasius's wife, said to have been a scold, and called Juno by his brother-critics, was highly indignant at Morus's familiarity with her *femme de chambre*, and threatened him with a prosecution, which I believe was carried into execution. See Syllog. ut supr. iii. 324.

This distich is inconsistent with our author's usual delicacy. But revenge too naturally seeks gratification at the expence of propriety. And the same apology must be made for a few other obscene ambiguities on the name of More, in the prose part of our author's two Replies to More. I take this opportunity of observing, that Fenton, in a Miscellany that he published, called the Oxford Miscellany, and Cambridge

XII. *Apologus de Rustico et Hero.\**

**R**USTICUS ex malo sapidissima poma quotannis

Legit, et urbano lecta dedit Domino :

Hinc incredibili fructus dulcedine captus,

Malum ipsam in proprias transtulit areolas.

Hactenus illa ferax, sed longo debilis ævo,

5

Mota solo assueto, protenus aret iners.

Quod tandem ut patuit Domino, spe lusus inani,

Damnavit celeres in sua damna manus ;

Atque ait, Heu quanto satius fuit illa Coloni,

Parva licet, grato dona tulisse animo !

10

Possem ego avaritiam frænare, gulamque voracem :

Nunc periere mihi et fœtus, et ipse parens.

XIII. *Ad CHRISTINAM SUECORUM REGINAM,  
nomine CROMWELLI.\**

**B**ELLIPOTENS virgo, septem regina trionum,

Christina, Arctoï lucida stella poli !

Poems, has printed a very loose but witty English Epigram under the name of Milton, which had long before appeared among the poems of Lord Rochester, who has every pretension to be its right owner. To this Miscellany Fenton has prefixed a long Dedication to Lord Dorset. See p. 286.

\* This piece first appeared in the edition 1673.

\* These verses were sent to Christina, Queen of Sweden, with Cromwell's picture, and are by some ascribed to Andrew Marvell, as by others to Milton: but

I should rather think they were Milton's, being more within his province as Latin Secretary. *Newton.*

These lines are simple and sinewy. They present Cromwell in a new and pleasing light, and throw an air of amiable dignity on his rough and obstinate character. They are too great a compliment to Christina, who was contemptible both as a queen and a woman. The uncrowned Cromwell had no reason to approach a princess with so much reverence, who had renounced her crown. The frolics of other whimsical modern queens have been often only romantic. The

Cernis, quas merui dura sub casside rugas,

Utque senex armis impiger ora tero :

pranks of Christina had neither elegance nor even decency to deserve so candid an appellation. An ample and lively picture of her court, politics, religion, intrigues, rambles, and masquerades, is to be gathered from Thurloe's State Papers. She had all the failings of her own sex, without any of the virtues of the sex she affected to imitate. She abdicated her kingdom in 1654. So that this Epigram could not have been written after that time. It was sent to the queen with Cromwell's picture, on which it was inscribed. It is supposed to be spoken by the portrait.

Doctor Newton, whose opinion is weighty, ascribes these lines to Milton, as coinciding with his department of Latin Secretary to Cromwell. See also Birch's Life of Milton, p. lxii. Toland, by whom they were first printed, from common report, indecisively gives them either to Milton or to Andrew Marvell. Life, p. 38. Prose Works, vol. i. p. 38. Tol. I suspect, that Milton's habit of facility in elegiac Latinity had long ago ceased: and I am inclined to attribute them to Marvell, so good a scholar, as to be thought a fit assistant to Milton in the Latin Secretaryship, and who, as Wood says, "was very intimate and conversant with that person." Ath. Oxon. ii. 818. Again, he calls Marvell, "sometimes one of John Milton's companions." Ibid. p. 817. And he adds, that Marvell was "cried up as the main wit-monger surviving to the fanatical party." In other words,

Marvell satirised the dissipations and profligate amours of Charles the Second with much wit and freedom.

I must however observe, that this Epigram appears in Marvell's Miscellaneous Poems, fol. Lond. 1681. p. 134. Where it follows other Latin poems of the same class and subject: and is immediately preceded by a Latin distich, entitled, *In Effigiem Oliveri Cromwelli*, "Hæc est quæ toties, &c." Then comes this Epigram there intitled "In eandem [effigiem] reginæ Sueciæ transmissam." Where the second distich is thus printed,

Cernis quas merui dura sub casside  
rugas,  
Sicque senex armis impiger ora tero.

And in *To the Reader*, these poems are said by his pretended wife, Mary, to be "printed according to the exact copies of my late dear husband, under his own hand-writing, &c." I think we may therefore fairly give them to Marvell. But see Marvell's Works, Lond. 4to. 1766. vol. iii. p. 489.

Of Marvell's respect and friendship for Milton some proofs appear, among other anecdotes of Milton and his friends not generally known, in the Second Part of Marvell's *Rehearsall Transposed*. Lond. 1678. 8vo. This book is an attack on Dr. Samuel Parker, famous for his tergiversation with the times, now an antipuritan in the extreme, and who died Bishop of Oxford, and King James's popish president of Magdalen College, Oxford. See

Invia fatorum dum per vestigia nitor,

5

Exequor et populi fortia jussa manu.

p. 377. He reproaches Parker, for having, in his *Reproof*, and his *Transproser Rehearsed*, "run upon an author John Milton, which doth not a little offend me." He says, that by accident he never saw Milton for two years before he wrote the *First Part of his Rehearsall*, which Parker had attributed to Milton. "But after I undertook writing it, I did more carefully avoid either visiting or sending to him, lest I should any way involve him in my consequences.—Had he took you in hand, you would have had cause to repent the occasion, and not escaped so easily as you did under my *Transprosal*.—John Milton was and is, a man of as great learning and sharpness of wit as any man. It was his misfortune, living in a tumultuous time, to be tossed on the wrong side; and he writ *flagrante bello*, certain dangerous treatises.—At his majesty's happy return, John Milton did partake, as you yourself did, for all your huffing, of his royal clemency, and has ever since expiated himself in a retired silence. It was after that, I well remember it, that being one day at his house, I there first met you, and accidentally.—Then it was, when you, as I told you, wandered up and down Moorfields, astrologizing upon the duration of his majesty's government, that you frequented John Milton incessantly, and haunted his house day by day. What discourses

"you there used, he is too generous to remember. But he never having in the least provoked you, for you to insult thus over his old age, to trouble him by your scaramucios, and in your own person, as a schoolmaster, who was born and hath lived more ingenuously and liberally than yourself; to have done all this, and lay at last my simple book to his charge, without ever taking care to inform yourself better, which you had so easy an opportunity to do:—it is inhumanly and inhumanly done; and will, I hope, be a warning to all others, as it is to me, to avoid (I will not say) such a Judas, but a man that creeps into all companies, to jeer, trepan, and betray them." The *First Part of his Rehearsall* was published 1672. This was in answer to a Preface written by Parker to Bishop Bramhall's *Vindication of Himself*, &c. Lond. 1672. 8vo. Reprinted by itself the next year. Parker replied in *A Reproof*, &c. Lond. 1673. Marvell answered in a *Second Part of the Rehearsall Transposed*, cited above.

And here it must be remarked, that Marvell was mistaken in supposing the *Transproser Rehearsed*, in which most of this abuse of Milton appears, to be written by Parker: it was written by R. Leigh, formerly of Queen's College Oxford, but now a player, Oxon. 1673. 12mo. In which the writer styles Milton *the blind author of Paradise Lost*, and talks of his *groping for a*



Ast tibi submittit frontem reverentior umbra :

Nec sunt hi vultus regibus usque truces.

beam of light, in the Apostrophe *Hail, holy light*, &c. p. 41. In another place, Milton is called a *schismatick in poetry*, because he writes in blank-verse, p. 43. See also p. 126. seq. He is traduced as a *Latin Secretary and an English Schoolmaster*, p. 128. Other scurrilities follow for several pages, too gross and obscene to be recited. I must not forget, that in the *Reproof*, really written by Parker, Milton is called "a friend of ours." p. 125.

Marvell was appointed assistant secretary to Milton in 1657. See Sec. P. Rehears. Transpos. ut supr. p. 127, 128. And Christina ceased to be queen of Sweden in 1654. At least therefore, when these lines were written, Marvell was not associated with Milton in the secretaryship.

I must add, that neither Marvell nor Milton lived to read the abuse which Parker bestowed on both of them, in his posthumous *Commentarii sui temporis*, Lond. 1727. 8vo. I will translate a small part only. He is speaking of the pamphleteers against the royal party at Cromwell's accession. "Among these calumniators was a rascal, one Marvell. As he had spent his youth in debauchery, so from natural petulance, he became the tool of faction in the quality of satyrist. Yet with more scurrility than wit, and with a mediocrity of talents, but not of ill-nature. Turned out of doors by his father,

"expelled the university, a vagabond, a ragged and hungry poetaster, kicked and cudgelled in every tavern, he was daily chastised for his impudence. At length he was made under-secretary to Cromwell, by the procurement of Milton, to whom he was a very acceptable character, on account of a similar malevolence of disposition, &c." B. iv. p. 275. This passage was perhaps written about the year 1680. *Paradise Lost* had now been published thirteen years, and its excellencies must have been fully estimated and sufficiently known; yet in such terms of contempt, or rather neglect, was its author now described, by a popular writer, certainly a man of learning, and very soon afterwards a bishop. See *Life of Bathurst*.

To recur to the text, which perhaps has been long ago forgot. Milton, has a prolix and most splendid panegyric on queen Christina, dictated by the supposition that she dismissed *Salmasius* from her court on account of his *Defence of the King*. See *Milton's Prose Works*, ii. p. 329.

What ground Mr. Warton had for his suspicion, that "Milton's habit of facility in elegiac Latinity had long ago ceased," he does not specify, nor is it easy to conjecture. I should not willingly persuade myself that our author could soon lose any faculty which he had acquired. Besides these verses must have been written before 1654, and

only nine years before that, when he published a collection of his Latin and English poems in 1645, he had added to his seventh Elegy ten lines, which sufficiently shew that he then perfectly retained his Elegiac Latinity. It was also an employment which, we may well suppose, he was fond of, as at this time he certainly thought highly of Christina. He was indeed rather unfortunate in his selection of a favourite from among the crowned heads of his time; but he saw only the bright side of Christina's character, and considered her as a learned, pious,

patriotic, disinterested princess. *Dunster.*

Dr. Symmons concurs with Newton, Birch, and Dunster, in assigning these verses without hesitation to Milton. He remarks also, that at the time "when Milton praised Christina, he praised a queen who possessed the affections of a happy people, who extended the most liberal patronage to the learned, and who was the theme of almost unbounded panegyric with all the princes of European literature." See *Life of Milton*, p. 427—431. ed. 2. *E.*

# SYLVARUM LIBER.

*In obitum Procancellarii, medici.\**

Anno Ætatis 17.

PARERE fati discite legibus,  
Manusque Parcæ jam date supplices,  
Qui pendulum telluris orbem  
Iâpeti colitis nepotes.

Vos si relicto mors vaga Tænaro

5

Semel vocarit flebilis, heu moræ

Tentantur incassum, dolique ;

Per tenebras Stygis ire certum est.

Si destinatam pellere dextera

Mortem valeret, non ferus Hercules,

10

Nessi venenatus cruore,

\* This Ode is on the death of Doctor John Goslyn, Master of Caius College, and King's Professor of Medicine at Cambridge; who died while a second time Vice-Chancellor of that University, in October, 1626. See Fuller's Hist. Cambr. p. 164. Milton was now seventeen. But he is here called sixteen in the editions of 1645 and 1673.

I am favoured in a letter from Doctor Farmer with these informations. "I find in Baker's MSS. vol. xxviii. *Chargis of buryall and funeral of my brother Doctor Gostlin, who de-*

*parted this life the 21 of Oct. 1626, and his funerall solemnized the 16th of Nov. following. And so it stands in the College Gesta-Book. He was a Norwich man, and married Dec. 3, 1582. A benefactor to Caius' and Catherine-Hall; at which last you once dined at his expence, and saw his old wooden picture in the Combination room."*

11. Horace, Epod. xvii. 31.

—Atro delibutus Hercules  
Nessi cruore.

On this fable of Hercules, our

- Æmathia jacuisset Oeta.  
 Nec fraude turpi Palladis invidæ  
 Vidisset occisum Ilion Hectora, aut  
 Quem larva Pelidis peremit 15  
 Ense Locro, Jove lacrymante.  
 Si triste fatum verba Hecateïa  
 Fugare possint, Telegoni parens  
 Vixisset infamis, potentique  
 Ægiali soror usa virga. 20  
 Numenque trinum fallere si queant  
 Artes medentum, ignotaque gramina,  
 Non gnarus herbarum Machaon  
 Eurypyli cecidisset hasta :  
 Læsisset et nec te, Philyreie, 25

author grounds a comparison, Par. Lost, ii. 543. "Felt th' "envenom'd robe, &c."

15. *Quem larva Pelidis peremit*, &c.] Sarpedon, who was slain by Patroclus, disguised in the armour of Achilles. At his death his father wept a shower of blood. See the sixteenth Iliad.

17. *Si triste fatum*, &c.] "If in-  
 "chantments could have stopped  
 "death, Circe, the mother of  
 "Telegonus by Ulysses, would  
 "have still lived; and Medea,  
 "the sister of Ægialus or Ab-  
 "syrtus, with her magical rod."  
 Telegonus killed his father Ulysses, and is the same who is called *parricida* by Horace. Milton denominates Circe *Telegoni parens*, from Ovid, Epist. Pont. iii. i. 123.

*Telegonique parens* vertendis nota  
 figuris.

17. —*verba Hecateïa*] Ovid, Metam. xiv. 44.

—*Hecateïa carmina* miscet.

22. *Artes medentum, ignotaque gramina*,] Not so much the power, as the skill, of medicine. This appears from the names which follow.

23. —*Machaon*, &c.] Machaon, the son of Æsculapius, one of the Grecian leaders at the siege of Troy, and a physician, was killed by Eurypylus. See the Iliad. But the death of Machaon, by the spear of Eurypylus, is not in the Iliad, but in Quintus Calaber, where it is circumstantially related, as Mr. Steevens remarks, Paralip. vi. 406. I must add, that Quintus Calaber is not an author at present very familiar to boys of seventeen. According to Philips, he was one of the classics whom Milton taught in his school. "Quintus Calaber his poem of "the Trojan War continued from "Homer." Life, p. xvii.

25. —*Philyreie*, &c.] Chiron,

Sagitta Echidnæ perlita sanguine,  
 Nec tela te fulmenque avitum,  
 Cæse puer genitricis alvo.  
 Tuque O alumno major Apolline,  
 Gentis togatæ cui regimen datum, 30  
 Frondosa quem nunc Cirrha luget,  
 Et mediis Helicon in undis,  
 Jam præfuisses Palladio gregi  
 Lætus, superstes, nec sine gloria;  
 Nec puppe lustrasses Charontis 35  
 Horribiles barathri recessus.

the son of Philyra, a preceptor in medicine, was incurably wounded by Hercules, with a dart dipped in the poisonous blood of the serpent of Lerna. See above, El. iv. 27.

27. *Nec tela te, &c.*] *Æsculapius*, who was cut out of his mother's womb by his father Apollo. Jupiter struck him dead with lightning, for restoring Hippolytus to life.

29. *Tuque O*] O is here open in a situation in which it is never found open in the Roman classics. *Symmons.*

29. *Tuque O alumno major Apolline,*] Certainly we should read *Apollinis*. But who was this pupil of Apollo in medicine? Had it been *Æsculapius*, the transition would have been more easy. But *Æsculapius* was sent by Apollo to Chiron, to be educated in that art. I think therefore, although Milton's allusions in these pieces are chiefly to established Grecian fable, we should here understand Virgil's Iapis, who was *Phæbo ante alios dilectus*, and to whom he imparted *suas artes, sua munera*. *Æn.* xii. 391. seq.

It should be remembered, that the word *alumnus* is more extensively, *favourite, votary, &c.*

In Milton's Latin poems, it is often difficult to ascertain the names of persons and places. To shew his learning, he frequently clouds his meaning by obscure or obsolete patronymics, and by the substitution of appellations formed from remote genealogical, historical, and even geographical allusions. But this was one of Ovid's affectations.

Milton's habitual propensity to classical illustration, more particularly from the Grecian story, appears even in his State Letters written for Cromwell. In one of them, Cromwell congratulates King Charles Gustavus on the birth of a son in the midst of other good news, 1655. In this, says he, you resemble Philip of Macedon, who at one and the same time received the tidings of Alexander's birth and the conquest of the Illyrians. *Prose W.* ii. 445.

29. Admitting Warton's sense of *alumnus*, it is evident that *Æsculapius* is here intended. *E.*

At fila rupit Persephone tua,  
 Irata, cum te viderit, artibus,  
     Succoque pollenti, tot atris  
     Faucibus eripuisse mortis.  
 Colende Præses, membra precor tua  
 Molli quiescant cespitem, et ex tuo  
     Crescant rosæ, calthæque busto,  
     Purpureoque hyacinthus ore.  
 Sit mite de te iudicium Æaci,  
 Subrideatque Ætnæa Proserpina;  
     Interque felices perennis  
     Elysio spatieri campo.

40

45

*In Quintum Novembris.\* Anno Ætatis 17.*

**J**AM pius extrema veniens Iacobus ab arcto,  
 Teucrigenas populos, lateque patentia regna  
 Albionum tenuit, jamque inviolabile fœdus  
 Sceptra Caledoniis conjunxerat Anglica Scotis:  
 Pacificusque novo, felix divesque, sedebat  
 In solio, occultique doli securus et hostis:  
 Cum ferus ignifluo regnans Acheronte tyrannus,  
 Eumenidum pater, æthereo vagus exul Olympo,  
 Forte per immensum terrarum erraverat orbem,  
 Dinumerans sceleris socios, vernasque fideles,  
 Participes regni post funera mœsta futuros:  
 Hic tempestates medio ciet aëre diras,  
 Illic unanimes odium struit inter amicos,  
 Armat et invictas in mutua viscera gentes;

5

10

43. The thought is in Juvenal and Persius.

\* This little poem, as containing a council, conspiracy, and

expedition of Satan, may be considered as an early and promising prolusion of Milton's genius to the *Paradise Lost*.

Regnaque olivifera vertit florentia pace : 15  
 Et quoscunque videt puræ virtutis amantes,  
 Hos cupit adjicere imperio, fraudumque magister  
 Tentat inaccessum sceleri corrumpere pectus ;  
 Insidiasque locat tacitas, cassesque latentes  
 Tendit, ut incautos rapiat, ceu Caspia tigris 20  
 Insequitur trepidam deserta per avia prædam  
 Nocte sub illuni, et somno nictantibus astris.  
 Talibus infestat populos Summanus et urbes,  
 Cinctus cæruleæ fumanti turbine flammæ.  
 Jamque fluentisonis albertia rupibus arva 25  
 Apparent, et terra Deo dilecta marino,  
 Cui nomen dederat quondam Neptunia proles ;  
 Amphitryoniaden qui non dubitavit atrocem,  
 Æquore tranato, furiali poscere bello,  
 Ante expugnataæ crudelia sæcula Trojæ. 30  
 At simul hanc, opibusque et festa pace beatam,

15. *Regnaque olivifera vertit florentia pace :*] *Olivifer* is an Ovidian epithet, *Fast.* iii. 151.

*Primus oliviferis Romam deductus ab arvis.*

And in the *Ibis*, "*Olivifera* Si-  
"cyone," v. 317. A great fault  
of the versification of this poem  
is, that it is too monotonous, and  
that there is no intermixture of  
a variety of pauses. But it  
should be remembered, that  
young writers are misled by  
specious beauties.

23. —*populos Summanus et urbes,*] *Summanus* is an obsolete and uncommon name for Pluto, or the god of ghosts and night, *summus manium*, which Milton most probably had from Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 731. The name

occurs in Plautus, Cicero, Pliny, and other ancient critics.

27. *Cui nomen dederat quondam Neptunia proles ;*] "*Albion* a  
"giant, son of Neptune, who  
"called the [this] island after  
"his own name, and ruled it  
"forty-four years. Till at length  
"passing over into Gaul, in aid  
"of his brother Lestrygon,  
"against whom Hercules was  
"hasting out of Spain into Italy,  
"he was there slain in fight,  
"&c." Milton's *Hist. Engl.* b. i.  
*Prose Works*, ii. 2. Drayton  
has the same fable, *Polyolb.* s.  
xviii.

31. *At simul hanc, opibusque et festa pace beatam, &c.*] The whole context is from Ovid's *Envy*, *Metam.* ii. 794.

Aspicit, et pingues donis Cerealibus agros,  
 Quodque magis doluit, venerantem numina veri  
 Sancta Dei populum, tandem suspiria rupit  
 Tartareos ignes et luridum olentia sulphur ; 35  
 Qualia Trinacria trux ab Jove clausus in Ætna  
 Efflat tabifico monstrosus ob ore Tiphæus.  
 Ignescunt oculi, stridetque adamantinus ordo  
 Dentis, ut armorum fragor, ictaque cuspidis.  
 Atque pererrato solum hoc lacrymabile mundo 40  
 Inveni, dixit, gens hæc mihi sola rebellis,  
 Contemtrixque jugi, nostraque potentior arte.  
 Illa tamen, mea si quicquam tentamina possunt,  
 Non feret hoc impune diu, non ibit inulta.  
 Hactenus : et piceis liquido natat aëre pennis ; 45  
 Qua volat, adversi præcursant agmine venti,  
 Densantur nubes, et crebra tonitrua fulgent.  
 Jamque pruinosas velox superaverat Alpes,  
 Et tenet Ausoniæ fines : a parte sinistra  
 Nimbifer Appenninus erat, priscique Sabini, 50  
 Dextra veneficiis infamis Hetruria, nec non  
 Te furtiva, Tibris, Thetidi videt oscula dantem ;  
 Hinc Mavortigenæ consistit in arce Quirini.  
 Reddiderant dubiam jam sera crepuscula lucem,  
 Cum circumgreditur totam Tricoronifer urbem, 55  
 Panificosque Deos portat, scapulisque virorum

—Tandem Tritonida conspicit arcem,  
 Ingenioque, opibusque, et festa pace,  
 virentem :

Vixque tenet lachrymas, &c.

48. *Jamque pruinosas velox superaverat Alpes,* Lucan, i. 183.

*Jam gelidas Cæsar cursu superaverat Alpes.*

54. *Reddiderant dubiam jam*

*sera crepuscula lucem,*] Ovid, Metam. i. 219.

—Traherent cum sera crepuscula lucem.

55. He describes the procession of the Pope to Saint Peter's church at Rome, on the eve of Saint Peter's day.



Evehitur; præeunt submisso poplite reges,  
 Et mendicantium series longissima fratrum;  
 Cereaque in manibus gestant funalia cæci,  
 Cimmeriis nati in tenebris, vitamque trahentes : 60  
 Tempa dein multis subeunt lucentia tædis,  
 (Vesper erat sacer iste Petro) fremitusque canentum  
 Sæpe tholos implet vacuos, et inane locorum.  
 Qualiter exululat Bromius, Bromiique caterva,  
 Orgia cantantes in Echionio Aracyntho, 65  
 Dum tremit attonitus vitreis Asopus in undis,  
 Et procul ipse cava responsat rupe Cithæron.

His igitur tandem solenni more peractis,  
 Nox senis amplexus Erebi taciturna reliquit,  
 Præcipitesque impellit equos stimulante flagello, 70  
 Captum oculis Typhlonta, Melanchætémque ferocem,  
 Atque Acherontæo progeneratam patre Siopen  
 Torpidam, et hirsutis horrentem Phrica capillis.  
 Interea regum domitor, Phlegetontius hæres  
 Ingreditur thalamos, neque enim secretus adulter 75  
 Producit steriles molli sine pellice noctes;  
 At vix compositos somnus claudebat ocellos,  
 Cum niger umbrarum dominus, rectorque silentum,

58. The orders of mendicant friars.

70. *Præcipitesque impellit equos, &c.* See note on *Comus*, v.

553. And Ovid, *Epist. Pont.* iii. 56.

*Sive pruinosi Noctis aguntur equi.*

And *Sil. Italicus*, xv. 285.

—Nox atro circumdata corpus amictu,

*Nigrantes invexit equos.*

Our author has "*Night's Car*," *Par. Lost*, ix. 65. where Bent-

ley proposes *Care*. Many of Bentley's emendations are acute: but he did not understand Milton's manner, nor the genius of the English language, or rather the genius of the language of English poetry. Compare *Eurip. Ion*, v. 1151. *Schol. Phœniss.* v. 3.

71. *Captum oculis Typhlonta, &c.* I believe Milton is the first poet who has given names to the horses of Night. Spenser describes the colour of her four horses, *F. Q. i.* v. 28, 20.

Prædatorque hominum, falsa sub imagine tectus  
 Astitit; assumptis micuerunt tempora canis, 80  
 Barba sinus promissa tegit, cineracea longo  
 Syrmate verrit humum vestis, pendetque cucullus  
 Vertice de raso, et, ne quicquam desit ad artes,  
 Cannabeo lumbos constrinxit fune salaces,  
 Tarda fenestratis figens vestigia calceis. 85  
 Talis, uti fama est, vasta Franciscus eremo

80. —*assumptis micuerunt temporis canis,*

*Barba sinus promissa tegit,*]

This reminds us of Satan's appearance to our Saviour in the form of an old man, in the wilderness. Par. Reg. b. i. 497.

—And Satan, bowing low  
 His gray dissimulation, disappear'd.

84. Satan is here disguised like a cordelier, or Franciscan friar.

86. —*Vasta Franciscus eremo,* &c.] Francis Xavier, called the *Apostle of the Indians*, whom he was sent to convert about the year 1542, by Ignatius Loyola. Among his many pretended miracles it is one, that, during this extraordinary progress, he preached to the lions and other beasts of the wilderness. There is an old print of Saint Francis in a desert taming lions.

But an unknown correspondent has thrown new light on the whole of the context. "The passage has properly nothing to do with the Jesuit S. Francis Xavier. The *fenestrati calcei* are (not torn, or full of holes, like Shakespeare's 'loap'd and window'd raggedness' in K. Lear, but) the sandals, or soles, tied on the foot by straps, or

" thongs of leather, crossed, or  
 " lattice-wise, which are usually  
 " worn by the Franciscan Priars  
 " although they are *dechausses*.  
 " These are mentioned by Buchanan, as a regular part of  
 " the dress of the Franciscans.  
 " Franciscan. [v. 47. p. 2. edit.  
 " ut *supr.*]

" —*Longo sub syrmatæ raso*  
 " Cerno caput, tortum *funem*, latum  
 " que *galerum*,  
 " Atque *fenestratum* soleas capite  
 " *cathurum*.

" Again, v. 88.

" —*Soleasque æstivum admittere solem.*

" Again, below,

" —*Soleasque fenestra reclusæ.*

" Milton seems to have adverted  
 " to this poem, which is a severe  
 " and laboured satire on the  
 " Franciscans. See also Buchanan's *Somnium*, in the *Frates*  
 " *Fraterrimi*, where, as here,  
 " S. Francis appears to the poet.  
 " Carm. xxxiv.

" Cum mihi Franciscus, nodosa cinctus  
 " *nabe* cinctus,  
 " Astitit ante tuum, stigmata nota  
 " gerens:  
 " In manibus sacra vestis erat, cum  
 " *fune* *galerus*,  
 " Palla, *fenestratus* *calceus*, hasta,  
 " liber.

Tetra vagabatur solus per lustra ferarum,  
 Sylvestrique tulit genti pia verba salutis  
 Impius, atque lupos domuit, Libyosque leones.

Subdolan at tali Serpens velatus amictu, 90

Solvit in has fallax ora execrantia voces;  
 Dormis nate? Etiamne tuos sopor opprimit artus?

Immemor, O, fidei, pecorumque oblite tuorum!

Dum cathedram, venerande, tuam, diademaque triplex  
 Ridet Hyperboreo gens barbara nata sub axe, 95

Dumque pharetrati spernunt tua jura Britanni:

Surge, age, surge piger, Latius quem Cæsar adorat,

Cui reserata patet convexi janua cœli,

Turgentes animos, et fastus frange procaces,

Sacrilegique sciant, tua quid maledictio possit, 100

Et quid Apostolicæ possit custodia clavis;

Et memor Hesperix disiectam ulciscere classem,

Mersaque Iberorum lato vexilla profundo,

Sanctorumque cruci tot corpora fixa probrosæ,

Thermodoontea nuper regnante puella. 105

"Consistently with the figure here described by Milton, the *vasta Franciscus eremo* ought to be the founder of the Order of friars, S. Francis d'Assise. And this was certainly his meaning. But although the last S. Francis wrought many pretended miracles in the deserts, and travelled into Syria to convert the Soldan of Babylon, and was at the siege of Damietta in the crusades, yet I cannot, with our author, accuse him of the impiety of converting the *Lybian lions*. So that at present I am inclined to conjecture, that Milton, at the age of seventeen, con-

founded the actions of the two synonymous Saints, and attributed the wonders of S. Francis Xavier to the Founder of the Franciscans."

92. *Dormis nate?*] This is Homer's, *Eudus, Argus* *ut*. *Il.* ii. 560. See also *Par. Lost*, b. v. 672. "Sleep'st thou, companion dear?" And Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 560. "Nate dea, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos?"

95. See *Mansus*, v. 26.

101. See note on *Lycidas*, v. 110. And *Comus*, v. 13. Compare *Par. Lost*, b. ii. 725; 850, 871. b. iii. 485. And *Revelations*, ix. 1. xx. 1.

105. *Thermodoontea nuper reg-*

At tu si tenero mavis torpescere lecto,  
 Crescentesque negas hosti contundere vires ;  
 Tyrrhenum implebit numero milite pontum,  
 Signaque Aventino ponet fulgentia colle :  
 Reliquias veterum franget, flammisque cremabit ; 110  
 Sacraque calcabit pedibus tua colla profanis,  
 Cujus gaudebant soleis dare basia reges.  
 Nec tamen hunc bellis et aperto Marte lacesses,  
 Irritus ille labor ; tu callidus utere fraude :  
 Quælibet hæreticis disponere retia fas est. 115  
 Jamque ad consilium extremis rex magnus ab oris  
 Patricios vocat, et procerum de stirpe creatos,  
 Grandævosque patres trabea, canisque verendos ;  
 Hos tu membratim poteris conspergere in auras,  
 Atque dare in cineres, nitrati pulveris igne 120  
 Ædibus injecto, qua convenere, sub imis.  
 Protinus ipse igitur quoscunque habet Anglia fidos  
 Propositi, factique, mone : quisquamne tuorum  
 Audebit summi non jussa facessere Papæ ?  
 Perculsosque metu subito, casuque stupentes, 125  
 Invadat vel Gallus atrox, vel sævus Iberus.  
 Sæcula sic illic tandem Mariana redibunt,  
 Tuque in belligeros iterum dominaberis Anglos.  
 Et, nequid timeas, divos divasque secundas  
 Accipe, quotque tuis celebrantur numina fastis. 130  
 Dixit, et adscitos ponens malefidus amictus,  
 Fugit ad infandam, regnum illætabile, Lethen.  
 Jam rosea Eoas pandens Tithonia portas,

*nanie puella.] The amazon, Thermodontiacus, Metam. ix. 189.*  
*Queen Elizabeth. She is admirably characterised. Audetque vi-*  
*ris concurrere virgo. Ovid has And Thermodoontiacus, xii. 611.*  
 127. The times of Queen Mary,  
 when popery was restored.

Vestit inauratas redeunti lumine terras;  
 Mœstaque adhuc nigri deplorans funera nati, 135  
 Irrigat ambrosiis montana cacumina guttis :  
 Cum somnos pepulit stellatæ janitor aulæ,  
 Nocturnos visus, et somnia grata revolvens.  
 Est locus æterna septus caligine noctis,  
 Vasta ruinosi quondam fundamina tecti, 140  
 Nunc torvi spelunca Phoni, Prodotæque bilinguis,  
 Effera quos uno peperit Discordia partu.  
 Hic inter cæmenta jacent, præruptaque saxa,  
 Ossa inhumata virum, et trajecta cadavera ferro ;  
 Hic Dolus intortis semper sedet ater ocellis, 145  
 Jurgiaque, et stimulis armata Calumnia fauces,  
 Et Furor, atque viæ moriendi mille videntur,  
 Et Timor, exanguisque locum circumvolat Horror ;  
 Perpetuoque leves per muta silentia Manes  
 Exululant, tellus et sanguine conscia stagnat. 150  
 Ipsi etiam pavidi latitant penetralibus antri

135. Her black son Memnon. See II Pens. v. 18. Aurora still weeps his untimely death at the siege of Troy.

138. *Nocturnos visus, et somnia grata revolvens.*] Doctor Newton ingeniously conjectures *resolvens*. But the poet means, literally, *rolling back*. The Janitor of the starry hall drove away slumbers, and rolled back again into darkness the visions of the night.

141. *Nunc torvi spelunca Phoni, Prodotæque bilinguis.*] See the personifications of *Phonos* Murder, and *Prodotes* Treason, in Fletcher's *Purple Island*, c. vii. 69, 72. But Fletcher's poem was published in 1633. Milton's was written in 1626. This cave

with its inhabitants is finely imaged, and in the style of Spenser.

148. —*exanguisque locum circumvolat Horror* ;] Spenser, having described the personages that sat by the side of the high-way leading to hell, adds this image to complete the dreadful group. F. Q. ii. vii. 2.

And over them and *Horror* with grim  
 bew  
 Did alwaies soar, beating his iron  
 winges.

*Horror* is personified in *Par. Lost*, b. iv. 989. in the figure of Satan.

His stature reach'd the sky, and on  
 his crest  
 Sat *horror* plum'd.

Et Phonos, et Prodotes; nulloque sequente per antrum,  
Antrum horrens, scopulosum, atrum feralibus umbris,  
Diffugiunt sontes, et retro lumina vortunt:

Hos pugiles Romæ per sæcula longa fideles 155

Evocat antistes Babylonius, atque ita fatir.

Finibus occiduis circumfusus incolit æquor

Gens exosa mihi; prudens natura negavit

Indignam penitus nostro conjungere mundo:

Illuc, sic jubeo, celeri contendite gressu, 160

Tartareoque leves diffientur pulvere in auras

Et rex et pariter satrapæ, scelerata propago:

Et quotquot fidei caluere cupidine veræ,

Consilii socios adhibete, operisque ministros.

Finierat, rigidi cupide paruere gemelli. 165

Interea longo flectens curvamine cælos

Despicit ætherea dominus qui fulgurat arce,

Vanaque perversæ ridet conamina turbæ,

Atque sui causam populi volet ipse tueri.

Esse ferunt spatium, qua distat ab Aside terra 170

Fertilis Europe, et spectat Mareotidas undas;

154. *Diffugiunt sontes, &c.*] There is great poetry and strength of imagination in supposing that Murder and Treason often fly as alarmed from the inmost recesses of their own horrid cavern, looking back, and thinking themselves pursued.

156. *Evocat antistes Babylonius, &c.*] The pope. The address is in imitation of Virgil, *Æn.* i. 67. "*Gens inimica mihi, &c.*"

165. —*paruere gemelli.*] In *paruere* is a false quantity, yet very excusable amidst so much good poetry and expression, espe-

cially from a youth of seventeen. But Milton might fairly defend himself, by reading *u* as the *v* consonant, for which there are authorities.

166. —*longo flectens curvamine cælos*] See *Comus*, v. 1015.

Where the bow'd welkin slow doth bend.

But Ovid has a like contexture, with a different idea. *Metam.* vi. 64. Of a rainbow.

*Inficere ingenti longum curvamine cælum.*

171. —*Mareotidas undas*;) Ma-

Hic turris posita est Titanidos ardua Famæ  
 Ærea, lata, sonans, rutilis vicinior astris  
 Quam superimpositum vel Athos vel Pelion Ossæ.  
 Mille fores aditusque patent, totidemque fenestræ, 175  
 Amplaque per tenues translucent atria muros :  
 Excitat hic varios plebs agglomerata susurros ;  
 Qualiter instrepitant circum mulctralia bombis  
 Agmina muscarum, aut texto per ovilia junco,  
 Dum Canis æstivum cœli petit ardua culmen. 180  
 Ipsa quidem summa sedet ultrix matris in arce,  
 Auribus innumeris cinctum caput eminent olli,  
 Queis sonitum exiguum trahit, atque levissima captat  
 Murmura, ab extremis patuli confinibus orbis.  
 Nec tot, Aristoride servato inique juvencæ 185  
 Isidos, immiti volvebas lumina vultu,

reotis is a large lake in Egypt, connected by many small channels with the Nile. See Ovid, *Metam.* ix. 772.

172. *Hic turris posita est, &c.*] The general model of this *Tower of Fame* is Ovid, *Metam.* xii. 39. Milton has retouched and variegated Ovid's imagery. In the figure of his *Fame*, however, our author adverts to Virgil. See the next note. And notes on v. 174, 175, 177, 207.

*Ibid.* *Titanidos*] Ovid has *Titanida* Circe, *Metam.* xiv. 376. Again, xlii. 968. *Fame* is the sister of *Cacus* and *Enceladus*, two of the Titans, *Æn.* iv. 179.

174. *Quam superimpositum vel Athos, &c.*] Chaucer's *House of Fame* stands on a rock, higher than any in Spain. *H. F.* b. iii. 27.

175: —*totidemque fenestræ,*] From Chaucer, *H. F.* b. iii. 101.

*Imageries and tabernacles  
 I sawe, and full eke of Windows  
 As flekis fallin in grete snowes, &c.*

But Chaucer seems to have mentioned the numerous windows as ornaments of the architecture of the House, rather than with Milton's allegorical meaning.

177. Not to copy Ovid too perceptibly, Milton adopts this comparison from Homer, which is here very happily and elegantly applied. *Il.* ii. 469. "*ὅρως μύσων, &c.*" See *Par. Reg.* iv. 15.

Or as a swarm of flies in vintage time  
 About the wine press, &c.

See also *Il.* xvi. 641.

Chaucer, in the same argument, has the outline of the same comparison, *H. F.* iii. 481.

I heard a noise approachin blive,  
 That fareth as bees don in an hive  
 Against ther time of outlying, &c.

Lumina non unquam tacito nutantia somno,  
 Lumina subjectas late spectantia terras.  
 Istis illa solet loca luce carentia sæpe  
 Perlustrare, etiam radianti impervia soli : 190  
 Millenisque loquax auditaque visaque linguis  
 Cuilibet effundit temeraria ; veraque mendax  
 Nunc minuit, modo confictis sermonibus auget.

Sed tamen a nostro meruisti carmine laudes  
 Fama, bonum quo non aliud veracius ullum, 195  
 Nobis digna cani, nec te memorasse pigebit  
 Carmine tam longo ; servati scilicet Angli  
 Officiis, vaga diva, tuis, tibi reddimus æqua.  
 Te Deus, æternos motu qui temperat ignes,  
 Fulmine præmisso alloquitur, terraque tremante : 200  
 Fama siles ? An te latet impia Papistarum  
 Conjurata cohors in meque meosque Britannos,  
 Et nova sceptrigero cædes meditata Iácobo ?

Nec plura, illa statim sensit mandata Tonantis,  
 Et satis ante fugax stridentes induit alas, 205  
 Induit et variis exilia corpora plumis ;  
 Dextra tubam gestat Temesæo ex ære sonoram.  
 Nec mora, jam pennis cedentes remigat auras,

200. The voice of God is preceded by thunders and earthquakes. This is in the style of *Paradise Lost*.

207. *Dextra tubam gestat Temesæo ex ære sonoram.*] Her brazen trumpet is from Chaucer, which is furnished by Æolus, H. F. b. iii. 347.

What did this Æolus, but he  
 Toke out his blake trompe of bras,  
 &c.

Temese is a city on the coast of

the Tyrrhene sea, famous for its brass. See *Odyss.* i. 183. And *Ovid, Metam.* xv. 707. Milton has the epithet from *Ovid, Medicam. Fac.* 41.

Et quamvis aliquis *Temesæo* remove-  
 rit *æra*.

208. —*jam pennis cedentes remigat auras,*] See *Ad J. Rousium,* v. 45.

—*Vehique superam*  
*In Jovis aulam remige penna.*

This metaphor first occurs in



Atque parum est cursu celeres prævertere nubes;  
 Jam ventos, jam solis equos post terga reliquit: 210  
 Et primo Angliacas, solito de more, per urbes  
 Ambiguas voces, incertaque murmura spargit:  
 Mox arguta dolos, et detestabile vulgat  
 Proditionis opus, nec non facta horrida dictu,  
 Authoresque addit sceleris, nec garrula cæcis 215  
 Insidiis loca structa silet; stupuere relatis,  
 Et pariter juvenes, pariter tremuere puellæ,  
 Effœtique senes pariter, tantæque ruinæ  
 Sensus ad ætatem subito penetraverat omnem.

Attamen interea populi miserescit ab alto 220  
 Æthereus pater, et crudelibus obstitit ausis  
 Papicolum; capti pœnas raptantur ad acres:  
 At pia thura Deo, et grati solvuntur honores;  
 Compita læta focis genialibus omnia fumant;  
 Turba choros juvenilis agit: Quintoque Novembris 225  
 Nulla dies toto occurrit celebratio anno.

*In obitum Præsulis Eliensis.\* Anno Ætatis 17.*

ADHUC madentes rore squalabant genæ,  
 Et sicca nondum lumina

*Æschylus, Agamemn. v. 53. Of vultures.*

*Πτερυγὶς σπέρματι σπέρουται.  
 Alarum remigiis remigantes.*

For classical instances of the *Remigium alarum*, see Heinsius on *Ovid, Art. Amator, il. 45.* Drakenborch on *Sil. Ital. xii. 98.* Dante turns Oars into Wings. *Infern. C. xxvi. 121.* "De' remi " facemmo ale."

220. *Attamen interea, &c.*] We are disappointed at this abrupt ending, after curiosity and at-

tention had been excited by the introduction of the goddess Fame with so much pomp. But young composers are eager to dispatch their work. Fame is again exhibited in the next poem, written also at seventeen.

\* Nicholas Felton, Bishop of Ely, died Octob. 5, 1626, not many days after Bishop Andrewes, before celebrated. Felton had been also Master of Pembroke Hall.

Adhuc liquentis imbre turgebant salis, Quem nuper effudi pius, Dum mœsta charo justa persolvi rogo	5
Wintoniensis Præsulis. Cum centilinguis Fama, proh ! semper mali Cladisque vera nuntia, Spargit per urbes divitis Britanniae, Populosque Neptuno satos,	10
Cessisse morti, et ferreis sororibus, Te, generis humani decus, Qui rex sacrorum illa fuisti in insula Quæ nomen Anguillæ tenet. Tunc inquietum pectus ira protinus	15
Ebulliebat fervida, Tumulis potentem sæpe devovens deam : Nec vota Naso in Ibida Concepit alto diriora pectore ; Griusque vates parcius	20
Turpem Lycambis execratus est dolum, Sponsamque Neobolen suam. At ecce diras ipse dum fundo graves, Et imprecor neci necem, Audisse tales videor attonitus sonos	25

14. *Quæ nomen Anguilla tenet.*] Ely, so called from its abundance of eels. Mr. Bowle cites Capgrave, "Locus ille sive cænobium a copia anguillarum *Hely* modo nuncupatur." Vit. Sanct. f. 141. b. Capgrave wrote about 1440.

20. Archilochus, who killed Lycambes by the severity of his iambics. Lycambes had espoused his daughter Neobule to Archi-

lochus, and afterwards gave her to another. See Ovid's *Ibis*, v. 54.

22. *Neobölen* is substituted without authority for *Neobülen*. In making the last syllable of *temere* v. 29. short, Milton is justified not only by analogy, but by the only authority which can be produced, and as such to be admitted, that of Seneca Hippo. 392. and 1244. *Symmons*.

Leni, sub aura, flamine:  
 Cæcos furores pone, pone vitream  
 Bilemque, et irritas minas:  
 Quid temere violas non nocenda numina,  
 Subitoque ad iras percita? 30  
 Non est, ut arbitraris elusus miser,  
 Mors atra Noctis filia,  
 Erebove patre creta, sive Erinnye,  
 Vastove nata sub Chao:  
 Ast illa cælo missa stellato, Dei 35  
 Messes ubique colligit;  
 Animasque mole carnea reconditas  
 In lucem et auras evocat;  
 Ut cum fugaces excitant Horæ diem  
 Themidos Jovisque filiæ; 40  
 Et sempiterni ducit ad vultus patris:  
 At justa raptat impios  
 Sub regna furvi luctuosa Tartari,  
 Sedesque subterraneas.  
 Hanc ut vocantem lætus audiui, cito 45  
 Fœdum reliqui carcerem,  
 Volatilesque faustus inter milites  
 Ad astra sublimis feror:  
 Vates ut olim raptus ad cœlum senex  
 Auriga currus ignei. 50  
 Non me Bootis terruere lucidi  
 Sarraca tarda frigore, aut  
 Formidolosi Scorpionis brachia,  
 Non ensis Orion tuus.

40. Orpheus, Hymn.

Ὀρφεὺς ὁ ὑμνωδὸς ὁμοῦς καὶ Ζεὺς ἡμῶν.

VOL. IV.

See also Hesiod's Theogony.  
And Ovid, Metam. ii. 118. Fast.  
i. 125.

Z

Prætervolavi fulgidi solis globum, 55  
 Longeque sub pedibus deam  
 Vidi triforem, dum coërcebat suos  
 Frænis dracones aureis.  
 Erraticorum siderum per ordines,  
 Per lacteas vehor plagas, 60  
 Velocitatem sæpe miratus novam;  
 Donec nitentes ad fores  
 Ventum est Olympi, et regiam crystallinam, et  
 Stratum smaragdis atrium.  
 Sed hic tacebo, nam quis effari queat, 65  
 Oriundus humano patre,  
 Amœnitates illius loci? Mihi  
 Sat est in æternum frui.

*Naturam non pati senium.\**

HEU, quam perpetuis erroribus acta fatiscit  
 Avi mens hominum, tenebrisque immersa profundis,

58. *Frænis dracones aureis.*] See Il Pens. v. 59.

62. *Donec nitentes ad fores,* &c.] Milton's natural disposition, so conspicuous in the *Paradise Lost*, and even in his *Prose Works*, for describing divine objects, such as the bliss of the saints, the splendour of heaven, and the music of the angels, is perpetually breaking forth in some of the earliest of his juvenile poems. And here more particularly in displaying the glories of heaven, which he locally represents, and clothes with the brightest material decorations, his fancy, to say nothing of the *Apocalypse*, was aided and enriched with descrip-

tions in romances. By the way, this sort of imagery, so much admired in Milton, appears to me to be much more practicable than many readers seem to suppose.

63. See notes on Par. L. iii. 482.

\* This was an academical exercise, written in 1628, to oblige one of the Fellows of Christ's college. "Quidam ædium  
 "nostrarum Socius, qui Comitibus  
 "hiscæ academicis in Disputa-  
 "tione philosophica responsurus  
 "erat, carmina super quæstioni-  
 "bus pro more annuo compo-  
 "nenda, prætervectus ipse jam  
 "diu leviculas illiusmodi nugas,

Oedipodioniam volvit sub pectore noctem!

Quæ vesana suis metiri facta deorum

Audet, et incisas leges adamante perenni

5

Assimilare suis, nulloque solubile sæclo

Consilium fati perituris alligat horis.

Ergone marcescet sulcantibus obsita rugis

Naturæ facies, et rerum publica mater

"et rebus seriis intentior, forte  
"meæ puerilitati commisit."  
Milton's Letter to A. Gill, dat.  
Cambridge, Jul. 2, 1628, Epist.  
Fam. Prose Works, ii. 566. They  
were printed, not for sale, and  
sent to his late schoolmaster at  
Saint Paul's, Alexander Gill,  
aforesaid. For he adds, "Hæc  
"quidem typis donata ad te  
"misi, utpote quem norim  
"rerum poeticarum judicem  
"acerrimum, et mearum can-  
"didissimum, &c." It is still  
a custom at Cambridge, to print  
the comital verses accompanying  
the public disputations.  
What a curiosity would be the  
sheet with Milton's copy!

To be able to write a Latin  
verse called *Versificari*, was  
looked upon as a high accom-  
plishment in the dark ages.  
This art they sometimes applied  
to their barbarous philosophy:  
and the practice gave rise to the  
*Tripes Verses* at Cambridge, and  
the *Carmina Quadragesimalia* at  
Oxford. From such rude begin-  
nings is elegance derived.

8. "There prevailed in Mil-  
ton's time," says Dr. Johnson,  
"an opinion, that the world  
"was in its decay, that neither  
"trees nor animals had the  
"height or bulk of their prede-  
"cessors, &c." This opinion is,

with great learning and in-  
genuity, refused in a book now  
very little known, "An Apology  
"or Declaration of the Power  
"and Providence of God in the  
"Government of the World," by  
Dr. George Hakewill, London,  
fol. 1635. The first who ventured  
to propagate it in this country  
was Dr. Gabriel Goodman, Bp. of  
Gloucester, and author of a book  
entitled "The Fall of Man, or  
"the Corruption of Nature  
"proved by Natural Reason."  
Lond. 4to. 1616, and 1624. See  
Athen. Oxon. Note signed H.  
Lives of the Poets, ed. 1794.

The first edition of Dr. Hake-  
will's book was published in  
1627, the year preceding the  
date of Milton's poem. Todd.  
And from this poem Mr. Todd  
and Dr. Symmons conclude,  
against Dr. Johnson, that Milton  
was free from prepossessions  
like those which Hakewill com-  
bated. Dr. J. however was allud-  
ing to P. L. ix. 44.

—unless an age too late, or cold

Climate, or years, damp my intended  
wing, &c.

But no poetical expressions of  
this kind, nor even an entire  
College Exercise, can prove what  
Milton's real opinions were on  
either side. E.

Omniparum contracta uterum sterilescet ab ævo? 10  
 Et se fassa senem, male certis passibus ibit  
 Sidereum tremebunda caput? Num tetra vetustas,  
 Annorumque æterna fames, squalorque situsque,  
 Sidera vexabunt? An et insatiabile Tempus  
 Esuriet Cœlum, rapietque in viscera patrem? 15  
 Heu, potuitne suas imprudens Jupiter arces  
 Hoc contra munisse nefas, et Temporis isto  
 Exemisse malo, gyrosque dedisse perennes?  
 Ergo erit ut quandoque sono dilapsa tremendo  
 Convexi tabulata ruant, atque obvius ictu 20  
 Stridat uterque polus, superaue ut Olympius aula  
 Decidat, horribilisque resecta Gorgone Pallas;  
 Qualis in Ægeam proles Junonia Lemnon  
 Deturbata sacro cecidit de limine cœli?  
 Tu quoque, Phœbe, tui casus imitabere nati; 25  
 Præcipiti currû, subitaue ferere ruina  
 Pronus, et extincta fumabit lampade Nereus,  
 Et dabit attonito feralia sibila ponto.  
 Tunc etiam aërei divulsis sedibus Hæmi  
 Dissultabit apex, imoque allisa barathro 30  
 Terreunt Stygium dejecta Ceraunia Ditem,  
 In superos quibus usus erat, fraternaue bella.  
 At pater omnipotens, fundatis fortius astris,  
 Consuluit rerum summæ, certoque peregit  
 Pondere fatorum lances, atque ordine summo 35  
 Singula perpetuum jussit servare tenorem.  
 Volvitur hinc lapsu mundi rota prima diurno;  
 Raptat et ambitos socia vertigine cœlos.

23. *Qualis in Ægeam, &c.* See "Iam, &c." And Par. Lost,  
 above, El. vi. 81. "Sic dolet i. 740. See the note Par. L. i.  
 "amissum proles Junonia cœ- 746.

Tardior haud solito Saturnus, et acer ut olim  
 Fulmineum rutilat cristata casside Mavors. 40  
 Floridus æternum Phœbus juvenile coruscat,  
 Nec fovet effœtas loca per declivia terras  
 Devexo temone Deus; sed semper amica  
 Luce potens, eadem currit per signa rotarum.  
 Surgit odoratis pariter formosus ab Indis, 45  
 Æthereum pecus albenti qui cogit Olympo,  
 Mane vocans, et serus agens in pascua cœ;  
 Temporis et gemino dispertit regna colore.  
 Fulget, obitque vices alterno Delia cornu,  
 Cæruleumque ignem paribus complectitur ulnis. 50  
 Nec variant elementa fidem, solitoque fragore  
 Lurida percussas jaculantur fulmina rupes.  
 Nec per inane furit leviori murmure Corus,  
 Stringit et armiferos æquali horrore Gelonos  
 Trux Aquilo, spiratque hyemem, nimbosque volutat. 55  
 Utque solet, Siculi diverberat ima Pelori  
 Rex maris, et rauca circumstrepit æquora concha  
 Oceani Tubicen, nec vasta mole minorem  
 Ægeona ferunt dorso Balearica cete.  
 Sed neque, Terra, tibi sæcli vigor ille vetusti 60  
 Priscus abest, servatque suum Narcissus odorem,  
 Et puer ille suum tenet, et puer ille, decorem,  
 Phœbe, tuusque, et, Cypri, tuus; nec ditior olim  
 Terra datum sceleri celavit montibus aurum

63. Hyacinth the favourite  
 boy of Phæbus, Adonis of Venus.  
 Both, like Narcissus, converted  
 into flowers.

64. *Terra datum sceleri celavit  
 montibus aurum*

*Conscia, vel sub aquis gemmas.]*

See El. v. 77. And Comus, v.  
 718.

—In her own loins  
 She hutcht th' all-worshipp'd ore, &c.

Again, *ibid.* 732.

—And th' unsought diamonds

Z 3

Conscia, vel sub aquis gemmas. Sic denique in  
 ævum 65

Ibit cunctarum series justissima rerum;  
 Donec flamma orbem populabitur ultima, late  
 Circumplexa polos, et vasti culmina cœli;  
 Ingentique rogo flagrabit machina mundi.\*

*De Idea Platonica quemadmodum Aristoteles  
 intellexit.†*

DICITE, sacrorum præsides nemorum deæ,  
 Tuque O noveni perbeata numinis  
 Memoria mater, quæque in immenso procul  
 Antro recumbis otiosa Æternitas,  
 Monumenta servans, et ratas leges Jovis, 5  
 Cœlique fastos atque ephemeridas Deum;

Would so imblaze the forehead of the  
 deep, &c.

64. Probably he recollected  
 Horace, Od. iii. iii. 49.

Aurum irreperitum, et sic melius el-  
 tum,  
 Cum terra celat.

E.

\* This poem is replete with  
 fanciful and ingenious allusions.  
 It has also a vigour of expres-  
 sion, a dignity of sentiment,  
 and elevation of thought, rarely  
 found in very young writers.

† I find this poem inserted at  
 full length, as a specimen of un-  
 intelligible metaphysics, in a  
 scarce little book, of universal  
 burlesque, much in the manner  
 of Tom Brown, seemingly pub-  
 lished about the year 1715, and  
 entitled, "An Essay towards the  
 Theory of the intelligible world

"intuitively considered. De-  
 "signed for forty nine Parts,  
 "&c. by *Gabriel John*. En-  
 "riched with a faithfull account  
 "of his ideal voyage, and illus-  
 "trated with poems by several  
 "hands; as likewise with other  
 "strange things, not insuffer-  
 "ably clever, nor furiously to  
 "the purpose. Printed in the  
 "year One thousand seven hun-  
 "dred et cætera." 12mo. See  
 p. 17.

3. This is a sublime personi-  
 fication of Eternity. And there  
 is great reach of imagination in  
 one of the conceptions which  
 follows, that the original arche-  
 type of Man may be a huge  
 giant, stalking in some remote  
 unknown region of the earth,  
 and lifting his head so high as  
 to be dreaded by the gods, &c.  
 v. 21.



Quis ille primus, cujus ex imagine  
 Natura solers finxit humanum genus,  
 Æternus, incorruptus, æquævus polo,  
 Unusque et universus, exemplar Dei ? 10  
 Haud ille Palladis gemellus innubæ  
 Interna proles insidet menti Jovis ;  
 Sed quamlibet natura sit communior,  
 Tamen seorsus extat ad morem unius,  
 Et, mira, certo stringitur spatio loci : 15  
 Seu sempiternus ille siderum comes  
 Cœli pererrat ordines decemplicis,  
 Citimumve terris incolit lunæ globum :  
 Sive inter animas corpus adituras sedens,  
 Obliviosas torpet ad Lethes aquas : 20  
 Sive in remota forte terrarum plaga  
 Incedit ingens hominis archetypus gigas,  
 Et diis tremendus erigit celsum caput,  
 Atlante major portitore siderum.  
 Non, cui profundum cæcitas lumen dedit, 25  
 Dirceus augur vidit hunc alto sinu ;

11. *Haud ille Palladis gemellus innubæ, &c.*] "This aboriginal Man, the twin-brother of the virgin Pallas, does not remain in the brain of Jupiter where he was generated; but, although partaking of Man's common nature, still exists somewhere by himself, in a state of singleness and abstraction, and in a determinate place. Whether among the stars, &c."

13. "Quamlibet ejus natura sit communior," that is, *communis*.

15. "Et (*res mira*!) certo, &c."

16. The *i* in *sempiternus* is unquestionably long. *Symmons*.

17. In another place, he makes the heaven *ninefold*.

18. That part of the moon's orb nearest the earth.

19. See Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 713.

—Animæ, quibus altera fato  
 Corpora debentur, Lethæi ad fluminis  
 undam,  
 Æternos latitæ et longa oblivis po-  
 tant.

But this is Plato's philosophy, *Phæd. Opp.* 1590. p. 400. C. col. 1.

25. Tiresias of Thebes.

Non hunc silente nocte Pleïones nepos  
 Vatum sagaci præpes ostendit choro;  
 Non hunc sacerdos novit Assyrius, licet  
 Longos vetusti commemoret atavos Nini,  
 Priscumque Belon, inclytumque Osiridem.  
 Non ille trino gloriosus nomine  
 Ter magnus Hermes, ut sit arcani sciens,  
 Talem reliquit Isidis cultoribus.  
 At tu, perenne ruris Academi decus,  
 (Hæc monstra si tu primus induxti scholis)  
 Jam jam poetas, urbis exules tuæ,  
 Revocabis, ipse fabulator maximus;  
 Aut institutor ipse migrabis foras.

30

35

*Ad Patrem.\**

NUNC mea Pierios cupiam per pectora fontes  
 Irriguas torquere vias, totumque per ora

27. — *Pleïones nepos*] Mercury. Ovid, *Epist. Heroid. xv.* 62.

*Atlantis magni Pleïonesque nepos.*

29. *Non hunc sacerdos novit Assyrius,*] Sanchoniathon, the eldest of the profane historians. His existence is doubted by Dodwell, and other writers.

33. *Ter magnus Hermes,*] Hermes Trismegistus, an Egyptian philosopher, who lived soon after Moses. See *Il Pens. v.* 88. "With thrice-great Hermes, &c."

35. *At tu, perenne, &c.*] You, Plato, who expelled the poets from your republic, must now bid them return, &c. See Plato's *Timæus* and *Protagoras*. Plato and his followers communicated their notions by emblems, fables,

symbols, parables, allegories, and a variety of mystical representations. Our author characterises Plato, *Par. Reg. b. iv.* 295.

The next to *fabling fell* and *smooth conceits*.

\* According to Aubrey, Milton's father, although a scrivener, was not apprenticed to that trade: he was bred a scholar and of Christ Church, Oxford, and that he took to trade in consequence of being disinherited. Milton was therefore writing to his father in a language which he understood. Aubrey adds, that he was very ingenious, and delighted in music, in which he instructed his son John. MS. Ashm. *ut supr.* See note on v. 66. below.

Volvere laxatum gemino de vertice rivum ;  
 Ut tenues oblita sonos audacibus alis  
 Surgat in officium venerandi Musa parentis. 5  
 Hoc utcunque tibi gratum, pater optime, carmen  
 Exiguum meditatur opus : nec novimus ipsi  
 Aptius a nobis quæ possint munera donis  
 Respondere tuis, quamvis nec maxima possint  
 Respondere tuis, nedum ut par gratia donis 10  
 Esse queat, vacuis quæ redditur arida verbis.  
 Sed tamen hæc nostros ostendit pagina census,  
 Et quod habemus opum charta numeravimus ista,  
 Quæ mihi sunt nullæ, nisi quas dedit aurea Clio,  
 Quas mihi semoto somni peperere sub antro, 15  
 Et nemoris laureta sacri Parnassides umbræ.

Nec tu vatis opus divinum despice carmen,  
 Quo nihil æthereos ortus, et semina cæli,  
 Nil magis humanam commendat origine mentem,  
 Sancta Prometheæ retinens vestigia flammæ. 20  
 Carmen amant superi, tremebundaque Tartara carmen  
 Ima ciere valet, divosque ligare profundos,  
 Et triplici duro Manes adamante coercet.  
 Carmine sepositi retegunt arcana futuri  
 Phœbades, et tremulæ pallentes ora Sibyllæ; 25

16. Read Parnessid. See note on v. 92. Mans.

17. Here begins a fine panegyric on poetry.

21. —*tremebundaque Tartara carmen*

*Ima ciere valet, divosque ligare profundos,*

*Et triplici duro Manes adamante coercet.]*

As in *Il Pens.* v. 106.

Such notes as warbled to the string  
 Drew iron tears down Pluto's cheek,

And made Hell grant what love did seek.

And below, of Orpheus, v. 54. where see the note.

25. *Phœbades,*] The priestesses of Apollo's temple at Delphi, who always delivered their oracles in verse. Our author here recollected the Ion of Euripides. To Phemonoe, one of the most celebrated of these poetical ladies, the Greeks were indebted for hexameters. Others found

Carmina sacrificus solennes pangit ad aras,  
 Aurea seu sternit motantem cornua taurum ;  
 Sed cum fata sagax fumantibus abdita fibris  
 Consulit, et tepidis Parcam scrutatur in extis.  
 Nos etiam patrium tunc cum repetemus Olympum, 30  
 Æternæque moræ stabunt immobilis ævi ;  
 Ibimus auratis per cœli templa coronis,  
 Dulcia suaviloquo sociantes carmina plectro,  
 Astra quibus, geminique poli convexa sonabunt.  
 Spiritus et rapidos qui circumat igneus orbes, 35  
 Nunc quoque sidereis intercinat ipse choreis  
 Immortale melos, et inenarrabile carmen ;  
 Torrida dum rutilus compescit sibila serpens,  
 Demissoque ferox gladio mansuescit Orion ;  
 Stellarum nec sentit onus Maurusius Atlas. 40  
 Carmina regales epulas ornare solebant,  
 Cum nondum luxus, vastæque immensa vorago  
 Nota gulæ, et modico spumabat cœna Lyæo.  
 Tum de more sedens festa ad convivia vates,  
 Æsculea intonsos redimitus ab arbore crines, 45  
 Heroumque actus, imitandæque gesta canebat,  
 Et chaos, et positi late fundamina mundi,  
 Reptantesque deos, et alentes numina glandes,  
 Et nondum Ætneo quæsitum fulmen ab antro.  
 Denique quid vocis modulamen inane juvabit 50

it more commodious to sing in the specious obscurity of the Pindaric measure. Homer is said to have borrowed many lines from the responses of the priestess Daphne, daughter of Tiresias. It was suspected, that persons of distinguished abilities in poetry were secretly placed near the

oracular tripod, who immediately clothed the answer in a metrical form, which was almost as soon conveyed to the priestess in waiting. *Phæbas* is a word in Ovid. See our author, above, El. vi. 73.

37. *Immortale melos, &c.*] See *Lycidas*, v. 176.

Verborum sensusque vacans, numerique loquacis ?  
 Silvestres decet iste choro, non Orphea cantus,  
 Qui tenuit fluvios, et quercubus addidit aures,  
 Carmine, non cithara ; simulachraque functa canendo  
 Compulit in lacrymas : habet has a carmine laudes. 55

Nec tu perge, precor, sacras contemnere Musas,  
 Nec vanas inopesque puta, quarum ipse peritus  
 Munere, mille sonos numeros componis ad aptos,  
 Millibus et vocem modulis variare canoram  
 Doctus, Arionii merito sis nominis hæres. 60  
 Nunc tibi quid mirum, si me genuisse poetam  
 Contigerit, charo si tam prope sanguine juncti,  
 Cognatas artes, studiumque affine sequamur ?  
 Ipse volens Phœbus se dispertire duobus,  
 Altera dona mihi, dedit altera dona parenti ; 65  
 Dividuumque Deum, genitorque puerque, tenemus.

52. He alludes to the Song of Orpheus, in Apollonius Rhodius, i. 277. He "sung of Chaos to "the Orphean lyre," Par. Lost, b. iii. 17. See also Onomacritus, Argon. v. 438.

53. —*quercubus addidit aures,*] So also of Orpheus, Par. Lost, b. vii. 35.

—Where woods and rocks had ears  
 To rapture.

54. —*simulachraque functa*] So of Orpheus, going down to hell, Ovid, Metam. x. 14.

Perque leves populos, simulachraque  
 functa sepulcris, &c.

Our author adds, "Compulit in "lacrymas." So Ovid, continuing the same story, *ibid.* 45.

Tum primum lacrymis victarum car-  
 mine fama est  
 Eumenidum maduisse genas est, &c.

Here we have,

Drew iron tears down Pluto's check.

See above, at v. 22.

66. *Dividuumque Deum, geni-  
 torque puerque, tenemus.*] The  
 topic of persuasion is happily  
 selected. *Dividens* our author  
 has twice Anglicised in *Paradise  
 Lost*, b. vii. 382. Where see the  
 note. And again, b. xii. 85.

Milton's father was well skilled  
 in music. Philips says, that he  
 composed an *In nomine* of forty  
 parts, for which he was honoured  
 with a gold chain and medal by  
 a Polish prince, to whom he pre-  
 sented it. He is mentioned by  
 Wood in his manuscript History  
 of English Musicians. "John  
 "Milton, a musician living in  
 "the reign of Queen Elizabeth,  
 "James I. Charles I. We have  
 "some of his compositions in the

Tu tamen ut simules teneras odisse Camœnas,  
 Non odisse reor; neque enim, pater, ire jubebas  
 Qua via lata patet, qua pronior area lucri,  
 Certaue condendi fulget spes aurea nummi : 70  
 Nec rapis ad leges, male custoditaque gentis  
 Jura, nec insulsis damnas clamoribus aures;

"publick Musicke Schoole at  
 "Oxford." MSS. Mus. Ashm.  
 D. 19. 4to. Among the psalm  
 tunes, published by Thomas Ra-  
 venscroft in 1633, are many with  
 the name of John Milton; more  
 particularly, that common one  
 called York tune, the tenor part  
 of which was such a favourite,  
 as to be used by nurses for a lul-  
 laby, and as a chime-tune for  
 churches. He has several songs  
 for five voices, in "The Tears or  
 "lamentations of a sorrowfull  
 "soule, composed with musical  
 "ayres and songs both for voices  
 "and divers instruments," con-  
 taining also compositions by Bird,  
 Bull, Orlando Gibbons, Dowland  
 the lutanist, Ferabosco, Copera-  
 rio, Weekes, Wilbye, and others  
 the most celebrated masters of  
 the times, written and published  
 by Sir William Leighton, knight,  
 a gentleman-pensioner, and a  
 good musician, in 1614. He has  
 a madrigal for five voices, among  
 the numerous contributions of  
 the most capital performers, in  
 the Triumphs of Oriana, pub-  
 lished by Morley in 1601. [See  
 note on Comus, v. 495.] This  
 collection is said to have been  
 planned by the Earl of Notting-  
 ham, Lord High Admiral; who,  
 with a view to sooth Queen Eli-  
 zabeth's despair for the recent  
 execution of Lord Essex by flat-  
 tering her preposterous vanity,

gave for a prize-subject to the  
 best poets and musicians, whom  
 he liberally rewarded, the beauty  
 and accomplishments of his royal  
 mistress, now a decrepit virgin  
 on the brink of seventy. But  
 maiden queens are in perpetual  
 bloom.

Our author's father seems also  
 to have been a writer. For in  
 the Register of the Stationers,  
 John Busby enters on Dec. 15,  
 1608, "A Sixe fold Politician by  
 "John Milton." A copy of this  
 book is in the Bodleian library,  
 which appears to have belonged  
 to Burton, who wrote on *Melan-  
 choly*.

66. The "Six-fold Politician"  
 ought probably to be ascribed to  
 John Milton, author of the *Astrologaster*. *Hayley*.

71. He had Ovid in his head.  
*Amor. i. xv. 5.*

Non me verbosas leges ediscere, nec  
 me

Ingrato vocem prostituisse foro, &c.

He speaks with a like contempt  
 for the study of the Law to  
 Hartlib, Tract. Educat. "Some  
 "allured to the Trade of Law,  
 "grounding their purposes not  
 "on the prudent and heavenly  
 "contemplation of justice and  
 "equity which was never taught  
 "them, but on the promising  
 "and pleasing thoughts of liti-  
 "gious terms, fat contentions,  
 "and flowing fees."

Sed magis excultam cupiens ditescere mentem,  
 Me procul urbano strepitu, secessibus altis  
 Abductum, Aoniæ jucunda per otia ripæ, 75  
 Phœbæo lateri comitem sinis ire beatum.  
 Officium chari taceo commune parentis,  
 Me poscunt majora : tuo, pater optime, sumptu  
 Cum mihi Romulæ patuit facundia linguæ,  
 Et Latii veneres, et quæ Jovis ora decebant 80  
 Grandia magniloquis elata vocabula Graiis,  
 Addere suasisti quos jactat Gallia flores ;  
 Et quam degeneri novus Italus ore loquelam  
 Fundit, barbaricos testatus voce tumultus ;  
 Quæque Palæstinus loquitur mysteria vates. 85  
 Denique quicquid habet cælum, subjectaque cœlo  
 Terra parens, terræque et cœlo interfluis aer,  
 Quicquid et unda tegit, pontique agitable marmor,

75. Aubrey, in Milton's manuscript *Life*, says, that he " was " ten yeares old by his picture, " and then a poet." The picture is that by Cornelius Jansen.

83. —*novus Italus*, &c.] Milton was so well skilled in Italian, that at Florence, the *Crusca*, an academy instituted for recovering and preserving the purity of the Florentine language, often consulted him on the critical niceties of that language. He tells Benedetto Buonmatteo, who was writing an Italian grammar, in a Latin Letter dated at Florence, 1688, that although he had indulged in copious draughts of Roman and Grecian literature, yet that he came with a fresh eagerness and delight to the luxuries of Dante and Petrarch, and the rest of the Italian poets ;

and that Athens with its pellucid Ilissus, and Rome with its banks of the Tiber, could not detain him from the Arno of Florence, and the hills of Fesole. *Prose Works*, ii. 570. See also Francini's panegyric. His Italian Sonnets shew that he was a master of the language. Dr. Johnson is of opinion, that Milton's acquaintance with the Italian writers may be discovered in his *Lycidas*, by the mixture of longer and shorter verses, according to the rules of the Tuscan poetry.

84. —*barbaricos testatus voce tumultus* ;] The pure Roman language was corrupted by *barbaric*, or Gothic, invaders. He adopts *Barbaricus*, used by Virgil more than once, into English. *Par. Lost*, b. ii. 4. " *Barbaric pearl* " and gold."

Per te nosse licet, per te, si nosse libebit :  
 Dimotaque venit spectanda scientia nube, 90  
 Nudaque conspicuos inclinat ad oscula vultus,  
 Ni fugisse velim, ni sit libasse molestum.

I nunc, confer opes, quisquis malesanus avitas  
 Austriaci gazas, Perŭanaque regna præoptas.  
 Quæ potuit majora pater tribuisse, vel ipse 95  
 Jupiter, excepto, donasset ut omnia, cœlo ?  
 Non potiora dedit, quamvis et tuta fuissent,  
 Publica qui juveni commisit lumina nato,  
 Atque Hyperionios currus, et fræna diei,  
 Et circum undantem radiata luce tiaram. 100  
 Ergo ego jam doctæ pars quamlibet ima catervæ,  
 Victrices hederas inter, laurosque sedebo ;  
 Jamque nec obscurus populo miscebor inerti,  
 Vitabuntque oculos vestigia nostra profanos.  
 Este procul vigiles curæ, procul este querelæ, 105  
 Invidiæque acies transverso tortilis hirquo,  
 Sæva nec anguiferos extende calumnia rictus ;  
 In me triste nihil fœdissima turba potestis,  
 Nec vestri sum juris ego ; securaque tutus  
 Pectora, vipereo gradiar sublimis ab ictu. 110

At tibi, chare pater, postquam non æqua merenti

93. *I nunc, confer opes, &c.*  
 Ovid, Epist. Heroid. xii. 204.

*I nunc, Sisypheas, improbe, confer opes.*

106. *Invidiæque acies transverso tortilis hirquo.*] The best comment on this line is the following description of envy, raised to the highest pitch, in Par. Lost, iv. 502.

—Aside the Devil turn'd  
 For envy, yet with jealous leer malign  
 Ey'd them askance.

107. *Anguiferos rictus* is certainly an inaccurate expression. *Calumnia* is, I fear, the property of prose rather than of poetry. Many of Milton's expressions in his Latin poems are not supported by high classical authority. *Symmons.*

109. Perhaps Milton might be justified in lengthening the last syllable of *ego*, as the ictus of the verse falls on it. *Symmons.*



Posse referre datur, nec dona rependere factis,  
 Sit memorasse satis, repetitaque munera grato  
 Percensere animo, fidæque reponere menti.

Et vos, O nostri, juvenilia carmina, lusus, 115  
 Si modo perpetuos sperare audebitis annos,  
 Et domini superesse rogo, lucemque tueri,  
 Nec spisso rapiant oblivia nigra sub Orco ;  
 Forsitan has laudes, decantatumque parentis  
 Nomen, ad exemplum, sero servabitis ævo.\* 120

## PSALM CXIV.†

ἸΣΡΑΗΛ ὅτε παιδὲς, ὅτ' ἀγλαὰ φῦλ' Ἰακώβου  
 Αἰγύπτιον λίτε δῆμον, ἀπεχθία, βαρβαρόφρωνον,

\* Such productions of true genius, with a natural and noble consciousness anticipating its own immortality, are seldom found to fail.

† Whoever will carefully compare this Psalm with Duport's version, will find this of Milton far superior; for in Duport's version are many solecisms. "Quod infortunium, says Dawes very candidly, in cæteros itidem quosque, qui a sæculis recentioribus Græce scribere tentarunt, cadere dicendum est." *Miscellan.* p. 1. *Dr. J. Warton.*

Milton sent it to his friend Alexander Gill, in return for an elegant copy of hendecasyllables. "Mitto itaque quod non plane meum est, sed et vatis etiam illius vere divini, cujus hanc oden altera ætatis septimana, nullo certo animi proposito, sed subito nescio quo impetu,

"ante lucis exortum, ad Græci carminis heroici legem, in lectulo fere concinnabam." He adds, "It is the first and only thing I have ever wrote in Greek, since I left your school; for, as you know, I am now fond of composing in Latin or English. They in the present age who write in Greek, are singing to the deaf. Farewell, and on Tuesday next expect me in London among the book-sellers." *Epist. Fam. Dec. 4, 1634. Prose Works, ii. 567.* He was now therefore twenty-eight years old. In the postscript to Bucer on Divorce, he thus expresses his aversion to translation. "Me who never could delight in long citations, much less in whole traductions; whether it be natural disposition or education in me, or that my mother bore me a speaker of what God made mine own, and not

Δὴ τότε μούνοι ἦν ὅσιοι γένος υἱὲς Ἰουδα.  
 Ἐν δὲ θεὸς λαοῖσι μέγα κρείων βασίλευεν.  
 Εἶδε, καὶ ἐντροπάδην φύγαδ' ἐρρώησε θάλασσα  
 Κύματι εἰλυμένη ροβίῳ, ὃδ' ἄρ' ἐστυφελίχθη  
 Ἰρὸς Ἰορδάνης ποτὶ ἀργυροειδέα πηγῇ.  
 Ἐκ δ' ὄρεα σκαρθμοῖσιν ἀπειρίσια κλονέοντο,  
 Ὡς κριοὶ σφριγόντες εὐτραφερῶ ἐν ἀλῶῃ.  
 Βαιοτέραι δ' ἅμα πάσαι ἀνασκιρτήσαν ἱρίπται,  
 Οἷα παρὰ σύριγγι φίλῃ ὑπὸ μητέρει ἄρνες.  
 Τίπτε σύγ', αἰνὰ θάλασσα, πέλωρ φύγαδ' ἐρρώησας  
 Κύματι εἰλυμένη ροβίῳ; τί δ' ἄρ' ἐστυφελίχθης  
 Ἰρὸς Ἰορδάνη ποτὶ ἀργυροειδέα πηγῇ;  
 Τίπτ' ὄρεα σκαρθμοῖσιν ἀπειρίσια κλονέεσθε,  
 Ὡς κριοὶ σφριγόντες εὐτραφερῶ ἐν ἀλῶῃ;  
 Βαιοτέραι τί δ' ἄρ' ὕμμις ἀνασκιρτήσατ' ἱρίπται,  
 Οἷα παρὰ σύριγγι φίλῃ ὑπὸ μητέρει ἄρνες;  
 Σείσο γαῖα τρέιους θιὸν μεγάλ' ἐκτυπύοντα  
 Γαῖα θιὸν τρέιους ὕπατον σίβας Ἰσακίδαο,  
 Ὅς τε καὶ ἐκ σπιλάδων ποταμοὺς χεῖς μορμύροντας,  
 Κρήνητ' αἶναιον πέτρης ἀπὸ δακρυόισσης.

*Philosophus ad regem quendam, qui eum ignotum et  
 insontem inter reos forte captum inscius damna-  
 verat, τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ πορευόμενος, hæc subito misit.*

Ω ΑΝΑ, εἰ ὀλίσης με τὸν ἔνομον, κυδὲ τίς ἀνδρῶν  
 Δεινὸν ὅλως δρέασαντα, σοφώτατον ἴσθι κάρησι

"a translator." Prose Works, posed to Milton to translate  
 vol. i. 293. It was once pro- Homer.

Ῥηϊδίως ἀφέλοιο, τὸ δ' ὕστερον αὖθι νοήσεις,  
 Μαψιδίως δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα τιὸν πρὸς θυμὸν ὀδυρῇ,  
 Τοιόνδ' ἐκ πόλιος περιώνυμον ἄλκαρ ὀλέσσας.

5

\* *In Effigiei ejus† Sculptorem.*

ΑΜΑΘΕΙ γεγράφθαι χεὶρὶ τήνδε μὲν εἰκόνα  
 Φαίης τάχ' ἄν, πρὸς εἶδος αὐτοφυνὲς βλέπων.  
 Τὸν δ' ἐκτυπωτὸν οὐκ ἐπιγινόντες, φίλοι,  
 Γελάτῃ φαύλου δυσμίμημα ζωγράφου.‡

4. In edition 1645, thus,

Μαψ αἶψας δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα χεῖρ' ἄλλα  
 πολλὸν ὀδύρῃ,  
 Τοιὸν δ' ἐκ πόλεως —

The passage was altered, as at present, in edition 1673.

\* Added in the edition of 1673. *Newton.*

† Of Milton.

‡ This inscription, a satire on the engraver, but happily concealed in an unknown tongue, is placed at the bottom of Milton's print, prefixed to Moseley's edition of these poems, 1645. The print is in an oval: at the angles of the page are the Muses Melpomene, Erato, Urania, and Clio; and in a background a landscape with Shepherds, evidently in allusion to Lycidas and L'Allegro. Conscious of the comeliness of his person, from which he afterwards delineated Adam, Milton could not help expressing his resentment at so palpable a dissimilitude. Salmasius, in his *Defensio Regia*, calls it *comptulam imaginem*, and declares that it gave him no disadvan-

tageous idea of the figure of his antagonist. But Alexander More having laughed at this print, Milton replies in his *Defensio pro se*, "Tu effigiem  
 "mei dissimillimam, prefixam  
 "poematibus vidisti. Ego vero,  
 "si impulsu et ambitione librarii  
 "me imperito scalptori, pro-  
 "pterea quod in urbe alius eo  
 "belli tempore non erat, infabre  
 "scalpendum permisi, id me  
 "neglexisse potius eam rem  
 "arguebat, cujus tu mihi ni-  
 "miam cultum objicis." *Prose Works*, vol. ii. 367. Round it is inscribed *Johannis Miltoni Angli Effigies anno ætatis vigesimo primo*. There was therefore some drawing or painting of Milton in 1629, from which this engraving was made in 1645, *eo belli tempore*, when the civil war was now begun. The engraver is William Marshall; who from the year 1634, was often employed by Moseley, Milton's bookseller, to engrave heads for books of poetry. One of these heads was of Shakespeare, to his *Poems* in 1640. Marshall's manner has sometimes a neatness and a delicacy discernible through

much laboured hardness. In the year 1670, there was another plate of Milton by Faithorne, from a drawing in crayons by Faithorne, prefixed to his History of Britain, with this legend, "Gul. Faithorne ad vivum delin. et sculpsit. Joannis Miltoni effigies Ætat. 62. 1670." It is also prefixed to our author's Prose Works, in three volumes, 1698. This is not in Faithorne's best manner. Between the two prints, hitherto mentioned, allowing for the great difference of years, there is very little if any resemblance. This last was copied by W. Dolle, before Milton's Logic, 1672. Afterwards by Robert White; and next by Vertue, one of his chief works, in 1725. There are four or five original pictures of our author. The first, a half length with a laced ruff, is by Cornelius Jansen, in 1618, when he was only a boy of ten years old. It had belonged to Milton's widow, his third wife, who lived in Cheshire. This was in the possession of Mr. Thomas Hollis, having been purchased at Mr. Charles Stanhope's sale for thirty one guineas, in June, 1760. Lord Harrington wishing to have the lot returned, Mr. Hollis replied, "his lordship's whole estate should not repurchase it." It was engraved by J. B. Cipriani, in 1760. Mr. Stanhope bought it of the executors of Milton's widow for twenty guineas. The late Mr. Hollis, when his lodgings in Covent-garden were on fire, walked calmly out of the house with this picture by Jansen in his hand, neglecting to secure any other portable article of value. I presume it is now in the possession of Mr.

Brand Hollis. [The picture of Milton by C. Jansen passed with the rest of the Hollis property into the hands of Dr. Disney, who inherited also from Mr. Brand a small silver seal with which Milton was accustomed to seal his letters. On the death of Foster, the husband of Milton's grand-daughter, it passed through one intermediate hand into the possession of Mr. T. Hollis in 1761. It bears Milton's arms, which were argent, a spread eagle with two heads gules, legged and beaked sable. Symmons.] (See Ad Patr. note, v. 75.) Another, which had also belonged to Milton's widow, is in the possession of the Onslow family. This, which is not at all like Faithorne's crayon-drawing, and by some is suspected not to be a portrait of Milton, has been more than once engraved by Vertue: who in his first plate of it, dated 1731, and in others, makes the age twenty one. This has been also engraved by Houbraken in 1741, and by Cipriani. The ruff is much in the neat style of painting ruffs, about and before 1628. The picture is handsomer than the engravings. This portrait is mentioned in Aubrey's manuscript Life of Milton, 1681, as then belonging to the widow. And he says, "Mem. Write his name in red letters on his pictures which his widowe has, to preserve them." Vertue, in a Letter to Mr. Christian the seal engraver, in the British Museum, about 1720, proposes to ask Prior the poet, whether there had not been a picture of Milton in the late Lord Dorset's collection. The Duchess of Portland has a miniature of his head, when

young: the face has a stern thoughtfulness, and, to use his own expression, is *severe in youthful beauty*. Before Peck's *New Memoirs of Milton*, printed 1740, is a pretended head of Milton in exquisite mezzotinto, done by the second J. Faber: which is characteristically unlike any other representation of our author I remember to have seen. It is from a painting given to Peck by Sir John Meres of Kirkby-Belers in Leicestershire. But Peck himself knew that he was imposing upon the public. For having asked Vertue whether he thought it a picture of Milton, and Vertue peremptorily answering in the negative, Peck replied, "I'll have a scraping from it, however; and let posterity settle the difference." Besides, in this picture the left hand is on a book, lettered *Paradise Lost*. But Peck supposes the age about twenty five, when Milton had never thought of that poem or subject. Peck mentions a head done by Milton himself on board: but it does not appear to be authenticated. The Richardsons, and next the Tonsons, had the admirable crayon-drawing above mentioned, done by Faithorne, the best likeness extant, and for which Milton sat at the age of sixty two. About the year 1725, Vertue carried this drawing, with other reputed engravings and paintings of Milton, to Milton's favourite daughter Deborah, a very sensible woman, who died the wife of Abraham Clark, a weaver in Spitalfields, in 1727, aged 76. He contrived to have them brought into the room as if by accident, while he was conversing with her. At

seeing the drawing, taking no notice of the rest, she suddenly cried out in great surprise, *O Lord, that is the picture of my father! How came you by it?* And stroking down the hair of her forehead, added, *Just so my father wore his hair*. She was very like Milton. Compare Richardson, *Explan.* N. p. xxxvi. This head by Faithorne was etched by Richardson the father about 1734, with the addition of a laurel-crown to help the propriety of the motto. It is before the *Explanatory Notes on the Paradise Lost*, by the Richardsons, Lond. 1734, 8vo. The busts prefixed to Milton's *Prose Works* by Birch, 1738, and by Baron 1753, are engraved by Vertue from a bad drawing made by J. Richardson, after an original cast in plaister about fifty. Of this cast Mr Hollis gave a drawing by Cipriani to Speaker Onslow, in 1759. It was executed, perhaps on the publication of the *Defensio*, by one Pierce, an artist of some note, the same who did the marble bust of Sir Christopher Wren in the Bodleian library, or by Abraham Simon. Mr. Hollis bought it of Vertue. It has been remodelled in wax by Gosset. Richardson the father also etched this bust, for *The Poems and Critical Essays of S. Say*, 1754. 4to. But, I believe, this is the same etching that I have mentioned above, to have been made by old Richardson 1734, and which was now lent to Say's editor, 1754, for *Say's Essays*. Old Richardson was not living in 1754. There is, however, another etching of Milton, by Richardson, the younger, before he was blind, and when much younger

than fifty, accompanied with six bombast verses, " Authentic "Homer, &c." The verses are subscribed " J. R. jun." The drawings, as well as engravings, of Milton by Cipriani, are many. There is a drawing of our author by Deacon: it is taken from a proof-impression on wax of a seal by Thomas Simon, Cromwell's chief mint-master, first in the hands of Mr. Yeo, afterwards of Mr. Hollis. This, a profile, has been lately engraved by Ryland. Mr. Hollis had a small steel puncheon of Milton's head, a full front, for a seal or ring, by the same T. Simon, who did many more of Milton's party in the same way. The medal of Milton struck by Tanner, for auditor Benson, is after the old plaister-bust, and Faithorne's crayon-piece, chiefly the latter. So is the marble bust in the Abbey, by Rysbrack, 1737. Scheemaker's marble bust, for Dr. Mead, and bought at his sale by Mr. Duncombe, was professedly and exactly copied from the plaister-bust. Faithorne's is the most common representation of Milton's head. Either that, or the Onslow picture, are the heads in Bentley's, and Tickell's, and Newton's editions. All by Vertue. Milton's daughter Deborah above mentioned, the daughter of his first wife, and his amanuensis, told Vertue, that " her father " was of a fair complexion, a " little red in his cheeks, and " light brown lank hair." *Letter to Mr. Christian, ut supr. MS. Brit. Mus.*

It is diverting enough, that M. Vanderghucht engraved for Tonson's edition, 1713, a copy of Marshall's print, 1643, with his

own name, and the accompaniment of this Greek inscription, an unperceived reflection on himself. Vertue's Greek motto is a trite and well known couplet from the *Odyssey*.

Since these imperfect and hasty notices were thrown together, Sir Joshua Reynolds has purchased a picture of Milton for one hundred guineas. It was brought to Sir Joshua, 1784, by one Mr. Hunt, a printseller and picture-dealer, who bought it of a broker; but the broker does not know the person of whom he had it. The portrait is dressed in black, with a band; and the painter's mark and date are " S. C. 1653." This is written on the back. " This picture belonged to Deborah Milton, who " was her father's amanuensis: " at her death was sold to Sir " W. Davenant's family. It was " painted by Mr. Samuel Cooper, " who was painter to Oliver " Cromwell, at the time Milton " was Latin Secretary to the " Protector. The painter and " poet were near of the same " age; Milton was born in 1608, " and died in 1674, and Cooper " was born in 1609, and died in " 1672, and were companions " and friends till death parted " them. Several encouragers and " lovers of the fine arts at that " time wanted this picture; particularly, Lord Dorset, John Somers, Esquire, Sir Robert Howard, Dryden, Atterbury, Dr. Aldrich, and Sir John Denham." Lord Dorset was probably the lucky man; for this seems to be the very picture for which, as I have before observed, Vertue wished Prior to search in Lord Dorset's collection. Sir Joshua Reynolds says, " The pic-

"ture is admirably painted, and  
 "with such a character of nature,  
 "that I am perfectly sure it was  
 "a striking likeness. I have  
 "now a different idea of the  
 "countenance of Milton, which  
 "cannot be got from any of the  
 "other pictures that I have seen.  
 "It is perfectly preserved, which  
 "shews that it has been shut up  
 "in some drawer; if it had been  
 "exposed to the light, the co-  
 "lours would long before this  
 "have vanished." It must be  
 owned, that this miniature of  
 Milton, lately purchased by Sir  
 Joshua Reynolds, strongly re-  
 sembles Vandyck's picture of  
 Selden in the Bodleian Library  
 at Oxford: and it is highly pro-  
 bable that Cooper should have  
 done a miniature of Selden as a

companion to the heads of other  
 heroes of the commonwealth.  
 For Cooper painted Oliver Crom-  
 well, in the possession of the  
 Frankland family; and another,  
 in profile, at Devonshire house:  
 Richard Cromwell at Strawberry  
 hill: Secretary Thurloe, belong-  
 ing to Lord James Cavendish:  
 and Ireton, Cromwell's general,  
 now or late in the collection of  
 Charles Polhill, Esquire, a de-  
 scendant of Cromwell. Cooper  
 was painter to the party, if such  
 a party could have a painter.  
 The inference, however, might  
 be applied to prove, that this  
 head is Cooper's miniature of  
 Milton. It has been copied by  
 a female artist, in a style of un-  
 common elegance and accuracy.

*Notes on the Greek Verses, by Dr. Burney.*

Those, who have long and  
 justly entertained an high idea  
 of Milton's Greek erudition, on  
 perusing the following notes,  
 will probably feel disappointed;  
 and may ascribe to spleen and  
 temerity, what, it is hoped, merits  
 at least a milder title.—To Mil-  
 ton's claim of extensive, and, in-  
 deed, wonderful learning, who  
 shall refuge their suffrage! It  
 requires not our commendation,  
 and may defy our censure.—If  
 Dr. Johnson, however, observes  
 of some Latin verse of Milton,  
 that it is not secure against a stern  
 grammarian, (*Life of Milton*,  
*Works*, vol. ii. p. 92.) what would  
 he have said, if he had bestowed

his time, in examining part of  
 this Greek poetry, with the same  
 exactness of taste, and with equal  
 accuracy of criticism.

If Milton had lived in the  
 present age, the necessity of these  
 remarks would, in all probability,  
 have been superseded. His na-  
 tive powers of mind, and his  
 studious researches, would have  
 been assisted by the learned la-  
 bours of Bentley, Hemsterhusius,  
 Valckenaer, Toup, and Ruhnke-  
 nius, under whose auspices Greek  
 criticism has flourished, in this  
 century, with a degree of vigour  
 wholly unknown in any period,  
 since the revival of letters.

I. PSALM CXIV.

This Greek version, as Dr.  
 Joseph Warton has justly ob-  
 served, is superior to that of Du-

port. It has more vigour, but  
 is not wholly free from inaccura-  
 cies.

In verse 4. the preposition *en* might have been omitted, as in Homer, Od. H. 59. *Γυμνῆσσι βασιλεύει.*

5. *ἰβήσεται*, and 12. *ἰβήσεται*, should have been in the middle voice.

5. and 13. *αὐλομένη* should have the antepenult *long*, as it is used by Homer.

7. and 14. *ἰεράδαι* has the penultimate *short* in Nonnus's version of St. John's Gospel, i. 23. and in x. 40. where it appears *long*, *ἰεράδαισι* *superscriptum est*,

says Sylburgius.—The syllable ΔΑ is used long by Apollinarius, in his translation of this psalm.

9. and 16. *ὑπερβίβειν*. This word is supported by no authority.

12. *αἶσα θαλάσσια*. *Αἶσα* Doric for *αἶσα* has the *α* long.

17. *Βαιοτέραι τι δ' αἶε*—Δι or Δ' should have followed *Βαιοτέραι*.

19. *μεγάλ' ἐκτυπύοντα*, does not appear intelligible. Should it be *μεγάλα κτυπύοντα*? In the following verse *τρυμνοί* had better have been *τρυμνίστοι*, as *τρυμνα* precedes.

## II. *Philosophus ad Regem quendam, &c.*

In this short composition, the style of the Epic Poets is imitated very inaccurately, and is strangely blended with that of the Tragic writers.

1. *Εἰ εὐλας*] Milton ought to have written *εἰ κ' εὐλας*.—The subjunctive *εὐλας*, as in Il. A. 559.—and *κ* must necessarily be added to *εἰ*, when it is followed by this mood.

*Εἰ*, in the Dramatic Poets, is used with the indicative, and the optative, but never with the subjunctive mood; though it is joined to all the three moods, in Homer. Yet this is not allowed indifferently, nor without distinction.

*Εἰ*, with a *subjunctive* mood, is never used by Homer, without the addition of *κα* or *κεν*, or its equivalent *αἰ*.

The few passages, which, in the present copies of the Iliad and Odyssey, seem to militate against these Canons, may all be corrected.

But as the instances of *Εἰ* with a subjunctive are so rare in Homer, Milton probably supposed, that the corrupt passages in the Tragedies, in which such a con-

struction may be found, would defend his *Εἰ εὐλας*.

*Τοι ἐπόμεν*] *Ὁ ἐπόμεν*, qui est *intra legem*, of course does not occur in Homer.—The word *ἐπόμεν*, however, may be found in the Tragic writers; but they do not apply it to *persons*.

The application of *ἐπόμεν* to persons appears to be peculiar to the later writers. St. Paul to the Corinth. i. ix. 21. says, *ἐπόμεν Χριστῷ*; Lucian, *Jupit. Trag.* vol. ii. p. 671. *ἐπόμεν κ' ἀμαρτυροῖς*, and Libanius, in a very laconic Epistle, *Ὁ κρείττος ἐπόμεν*. *Epist.* DC. p. 288. *Ed. Wolf*.

*Επόμεν*, however, is applied to objects without life, by the ancient Greeks, and, indeed, by the *Recentiores*. *Επόμεν* is not an Epic word, in the signification of a *just and irreproachable man*.

*Οὐδὲ τίς αἰδέσθαι δύναιτο ἄλως ἀνταρτα.*] *Ὀλως*, which appears of little service in this passage, is not in Homer, and very rarely, if ever, in the Tragedies.

*Δεῖν* is not used in the Iliad. In the Odyss. O. 323. *παράδευσσι*, or *παρα δεινίσσι*, and 332. *ὑπάρδευσσι* may be found. The formula, *δεῖναι τίνας δύναιτο*, may be termed



Homeric, as Homer says in *Il. Γ. 354*. *Εὐριπίδης κακὰ μέγαν*—, but *δρα*, with a double accusative, is perfectly in the style of the dramatic writers. Euripides alone will afford a sufficiency of examples. *Hecub. 253. Orest. 581. Hippol. 178. Iph. Aul. 371. Ion. 1267*. From these two last passages, it appears, that Milton should have written, *τῷ ἀνδρὶ ΤΙ δῖος δρασάμενα*, which is more manifest from *Med. 560*: *Ὁν τι δρῶντις δῖος*— for after *δρα*, the adjective in the singular number is accompanied by *τι*, but in the plural it is used alone.

2. *σφύτταται*—*καρῆναι*] It should be *σφύτταται καρῆναι*. Thus Homer has *καρῆνα Τρωῖναι*, in *Iliad A. 158*. for *Τρωῖς*. Neither *καρῆναι*, *καρῆ*, nor *κρῆταις* are used simply in the sense of *αἰθέρας* by Homer.

[*ἰσθὶ ῥῆδιος ἀφίλοιαι*.] With respect to the expressions, *ῥῆδιος ἀφίλοιαι*, or *ῥῆδιος ἀφίλοι*, they are strictly Homeric.

*ἰσθὶ ἀφίλοιαι* is, however, utterly indefensible, for it is neither Homeric nor Attic Greek: it is the language neither of verse, nor of prose. Milton should have written *ἰσθὶ ἀφίλοισις*, which would have but an awkward appearance in a hexameter verse, or rather, perhaps, *ἀφαιρητομένης*, in the future.

Should it be asserted, that *ἰσθὶ* is proposed to be *parenthetical*, which does not seem natural, nor to have been the author's intention, still after *εἰς* the reader would rather expect a subjunctive mood.

Milton appears to have had the common idiom of the Tragedies, with regard to these *γυμνιστικά* verbs, floating on his mind, though he has failed in express-

ing his ideas. That he was not unacquainted with the proper usage of *ἰσθὶ* with a participle, may surely not unfairly be concluded from a passage in his *Paradise Lost*, ix. 791.

Greedily she ingorg'd, without restraint,  
And knew not eating death.

Where see the notes.

—*ἵστανται αὐτῇ*] If *αὐτῇ* be an adverb of *time*, as well as of *place*, after *ἵστανται* it seems unnecessary.

*αὐτῇ ἐκτατα*] So *Iliad Γ. 397*. *Θαρσύνοντο τ' αὐτῇ ἐκτατα*.

*τίσας πρὸς θυμῷ ὀδυρῶν*.] Milton, in these hexameters, should have written *τίσας ΚΑΤΑ θυμῷ*, after the example of Homer, *Il. Ω. 549*.

—*μὴδ ἄλλασται ὀδυρῶν ἐν ΚΑΤΑ θυμῷ*.

*Ὀδυρῶν*] In the edition of 1673, and in Bishop Newton's of 1785, the final *α* is circumflexed. An *iota subscriptum* should also have been added, if *ὀδυρῶν* be the future middle.

*Ὀδυρῶμαι*, however, like *μαρτυρῶμαι*, is one of those verbs which have the *Upsilon* long, in *presentibus et imperfectis omnibus*, and short in *futuris*, if they have any futures in use. This point of Prosody has been accurately and clearly illustrated by Clark, in his notes on Homer, *Il. A. 338. B. 43*.

Since the *Upsilon* in *μαρτυρῶμαι* *futurum*, as Clark observes, *semper corripitur*, the same must also be the quantity of the *Upsilon* in *ὀδυρῶμαι*, if such a word exists.

*Τοιῷ δ'*] It should be printed *τοιῷδ'*, in one word. *Παλῶς* is the reading in the edition of 1645. This genitive occurs only twice in Homer, *Iliad A. 168*. and *Υ. 52*. In the latter place *παλῶς* is noted as a various reading.

Περώνουσι αλκαρ] *Hoc minus placet*. When αλκαρ occurs in Homer, it is used without any epithet, and περώνουσι is not an Homeric word. As to ελισσας, since Milton uses ελισσας, *simplici* Σ, in the first line, ελισσας so nearly after it, seems exceptionable, in point of taste, in such a short composition.

In the various reading of the fourth verse, μαψ αυτας δ' αε σπυτα, for μαψιδιως; the word αυτας should have been aspirated, as it is in Homer, after Μαψ. Iliad γ. 348. Odyss. π. 111. and, indeed *always*, when it is used in the sense of *temerè*, or *sic temerè*.

### III. In Effigiei ejus Sculptorem.

This Epigram is far inferior to those, which are preserved in the Greek Anthologia, on Bad Painters. It has no point: it has no αφελα. It is destitute of poetical merit, and appears far more remarkable for its errors than for its excellencies.

To confess the truth, the Poet does not appear to have suspected, that while he was censuring the *Effigiei Sculptor*, he was exposing himself to the severity of criticism, by admitting, into his verses, disputable Greek and false metre.

As these lines are *Iambics*, it may be concluded, that Milton meant to imitate the style of the Tragic and Iambic writers. Such, at least, ought to have been his model.

In the first line, the particle *μεν* is placed much too far distant from the beginning of the sentence. The later Comic writers are not always very chaste, in their position of *δε* and *γὰρ*, and, perhaps, of *μεν* and similar words.

2. Φαεισ αν] This is perfectly Attic, and used by Sophocles, Trach. 1073. Electr. 548. Ed. Brunckii.—In so short a composition, an *Anapaestus* in the fifth foot of two following lines might better have been avoided.

Ειδος αυταφους] Αυταφους, in the

sense intended by Milton, *si rite recorder*, is not warranted by the dramatic poets, if it is by any of the more ancient writers.

3. Τει εκτυπαται] This word is not right.—*τυπατις* is an adjective used by Lycophro, 262. *τυπατην ταρματ*, from which might be formed *εκτυπαται*, but no authority for it at present occurs. With more propriety then Milton would have written, *Το δ' εκτυπαται*, scil. υδος or ορχη. The substantives, however, are *τυπαμα* and *εκτυπαμα*. Euripides uses the former, in the *Phœniss*. 165. Ed. Valck. *τυπαμα μαρφη*—The latter is explained in Hesychius by *ομοιωμα*.

επιγινωκει] A typographical error. It should of course be *επιγινωκται*, as it is rightly printed in the edition of 1673.

4. Γελατι Φαυλου δυσμμεμα ζαγραφου] Γελατι in the *Tragic writers* sometimes governs a genitive, but more frequently a dative case, either with or without a preceding preposition. In a passage from Gregory of Nazianzen, adduced by H. Stephens, in his *Thesaurus*, v. i. p. 821. E. Voc. Γελαω, this verb governs an accusative case; but this construction is very unusual, and can have no reference to Attic poetry.

The word *durisimulus* seems with error.—The Antepenult is long, so that a *Spondeus* occupies the fourth place, which even the advocates for the toleration of *Anapesti in sedibus paribus* would not readily allow.

In the next place, this word *durisimulus* does not occur, I believe, in any ancient writer; and if it did, it could not possibly be used in the signification, in which it has been employed by Milton.

*Ad Salsillum, Poetam Romanum, ægrotantem.\**

SCAZONTES.

O MUSA gressum quæ volens trahis claudum,  
 Vulcanioque tarda gaudes incesso,  
 Nec sentis illud in loco minus gratum,  
 Quam cum decentes flava Deïope suras  
 Alternat aureum ante Junonis lectum ; 5  
 Adesdum, et hæc s'is verba pauca Salsillo  
 Refer, Camcena nostra cui tantum est cordi,  
 Quamque ille magnis prætulit immerito divis.  
 Hæc ergo alumnus ille Londini Milto,  
 Diebus hisce qui suum linquens nidum, 10  
 Polique tractum, pessimus ubi ventorum,  
 Insanientis impotensque pulmonis,  
 Pernix anhela sub Jove exercet flabra,  
 Venit feraces Itali soli ad glebas,  
 Visum superba cognitas urbes fama, 15

\* Giovanni Salsilli had complimented Milton at Rome in a Latin tetrastich, for his Greek, Latin, and Italian poetry. Milton, in return, sent these elegant Scazontes to Salsilli when indisposed.

1. *O Musa gressum quæ volens trahis claudum,*] Mr. Bowle here cites Angelinus Gazæus, a Dutch poet, in *Pia Hilaria*. Antv. 1629. p. 79.

Subclaudicante tibia redi, Scazon.

It is an indispensable rule, which Milton has not here always observed, that the Scazon is to close with a spondee preceded by an iambus.

1. In their Scazons, the Greeks use a spondee in the fifth place,

but the Latins always an iambic. In the poem before us Milton has violated this rule of Latin prosody in no less than twenty-one instances, by inserting either a spondee or an anapaest in the place in question. This is to be guilty not of false quantity, but of an erroneous fabric of verse. *Symmons.*

4. *Quam cum decentes flava Deïope, &c.*] As the Muses sing about the altar of Jupiter, in *Il Pens.* v. 47. This pagan theology is applied in *Paradise Lost*, of the angels, b. v. 161.

—And with songs,  
 And choral symphonies, day without  
 night,  
 Circle his throne rejoicing.

Virosque, doctæque indolem juventutis.  
 Tibi optat idem hic fausta multa, Salsille,  
 Habitumque fesso corpori penitus sanum ;  
 Cui nunc profunda bilis infestat renes,  
 Præcordiisque fixa damnosum spirat ; 20  
 Nec id pepercit impia, quod tu Romano  
 Tam cultus ore Lesbium condis melos.

O dulce divum munus, O Salus, Hebes  
 Germana ! Tuque Phœbe morborum terror,  
 Pythone cæso, sive tu magis Pæan 25  
 Libenter audis, hic tuus sacerdos est.  
 Querceta Fauni, vosque rore vinoso  
 Colles benigni, mitis Evandri sedes,  
 Siquid salubre vallibus frondet vestris,  
 Levamen ægro ferte certatim vati. 30  
 Sic ille, charis redditus rursum Musis,  
 Vicina dulci prata mulcebit cantu.  
 Ipse inter atros emirabitur lucos  
 Numa, ubi beatum degit otium æternum,

22. *O dulce dicum munus, &c.*] I know not any finer modern Latin lyric poetry, than from this verse to the end. The close which is digressional, but naturally rises from the subject, is perfectly antique.

27. *Querceta Fauni, &c.*] Faunus was one of the deities brought by Evander into Latium, according to Ovid, *Fast. b. v. 99*. This is a poetical address to Rome.

28. —*mitis Evandri sedes,*] The epithet *mitis* is finely characteristic of Evander.

33. *Ipse inter atros emirabitur lucos, &c.*] Very near the city of Rome, in the middle of a gloomy grove, is a romantic cavern with

a spring, where Numa is fabled to have received the Roman laws from his wife Egeria, one of Diana's nymphs. The grove was called *nemus Aricinum*, and sometimes *Lucus Egeriæ et Camænarum*, and the spring *Fons Egeriæ*. See Ovid's *Fast. iii. 275*. And when Numa died, Egeria is said to have retired hither, to lament his death. Ovid, *Metam. xv. 487*.

—*Nam conjux, urbe relicta,  
 Vallis Aricinæ densis latet abdita  
 sylvæ, &c.*

On these grounds Milton builds the present beautiful fiction. See *Montfauc. Diar. Ital. c. xi. p. 152. edit. 1702*.

Suam reclinis semper Ægeriam spectans.  
 Tumidusque et ipse Tiberis, hinc delinitus,  
 Spei favebit annuæ colonorum :  
 Nec in sepulchris ibit obsessum reges,  
 Nimum sinistro laxis irruens loro :  
 Sed fræna melius temperabit undarum,  
 Adusque curvi salsa regna Portumni.

33

40

## MANSUS.\*

*Joannes Baptista Mansus, Marchio Villensis, vir ingenii  
 laude, tum literarum studio, nec non et bellica virtute,*

38. *Nec in sepulchris ibit ob-*  
*sessum reges,*  
*Nimum sinistro laxis irruens*  
*loro:]*

This was Horace's inundation of  
 the Tiber. Od. l. i. ii. 18.

—*Vagus et sinistra*  
*Labitur ripa.*

For the left side, being on a de-  
 clivity, was soon overflowed. See  
 ibid. v. 15.

*Ire dejectum monumenta Regis.*

\* At Naples Milton was intro-  
 duced to Giovanni Battista Man-  
 so, Marquis of Villa. See Prose  
 Works, vol. ii. 332. Milton at  
 leaving Naples sent this poem to  
 Manso. He was a nobleman of  
 distinguished rank and fortune,  
 had supported a military char-  
 acter with high reputation, of  
 unblemished morals, a polite  
 scholar, a celebrated writer, and  
 an universal patron. It was  
 among his chief honours, that he  
 had been the friend of Tasso :  
 and this circumstance, above all  
 others, must have made Milton  
 ambitious of his acquaintance.  
 He is not only complimented by

name in the twentieth canto of  
 the Gerusalemme, but Tasso ad-  
 dressed his Dialogue on Friend-  
 ship to Manso, "Il Manso, ovéro  
 " Dell' Amicitia. Dialogo del  
 " Sig. Torquato Tasso. Al molte  
 " illustre Sig. Giovanni Battista  
 " Manso. In Napoli, 1596." In  
 quarto. Beside a Dedication ex-  
 pressing the sincerest regard and  
 attachment, five Sonnets from  
 Tasso to Manso are prefixed,  
 and Manso is one of the inter-  
 locutors. Manso in return wrote  
 the Life of Tasso, published in  
 1621. And, as it here seems, of  
 Marino. Hence our author, ver.  
 18.

*Nec satis hoc visum est in utramque,*  
*et nec pia cessant*  
*Officia in tumultu; cupis integros ra-*  
*pere Orco,*  
*Qua potes, atque avidas Parcarum*  
*eludere leges :*  
*Amborum genus, et varia sub sorte*  
*peractam*  
*Describis vitam, moresque, et dona*  
*Minervæ, &c.*

Among Manso's other works,  
 are, "Erocallia, in Ven. 1628."  
 In twelve Dialogues. And "I  
 " Paradossi, 1608." He died in

*apud Italos clarus in primis est. Ad quem Torquati Tassi Dialogus extat de Amicitia scriptus; erat enim Tassi amicissimus; ab quo etiam inter Campaniæ principes celebratur, in illo poemate cui titulus GERUSALEMME CONQUISTATA, lib. 20.*

Fra cavalier magnanimi, e cortesi,  
Risplende il Manso.—

*Is authorem Neapoli commorantem summa benevolentia prosecutus est, multaque ei detulit humanitatis officia. Ad hunc itaque hospes ille antequam ab ea urbe discederet, ut ne ingratum se ostenderet, hoc carmen misit.†*

HÆC quoque, Manse, tuæ meditantur carmina laudi  
Pierides, tibi, Manse, choro notissime Phæbi;  
Quandoquidem ille alium haud æquo est dignatus  
honore,  
Post Galli cineres, et Mecænatis Hetrusci.  
Tu quoque, si nostræ tantum valet aura Camœnæ, 5  
Victrices hederas inter, laurosque sedebis.  
Te pridem magno felix concordia Tasso  
Junxit, et æternis inscripsit nomina chartis;  
Mox tibi dulciloquum non inscia Musa Marinum  
Tradidit; ille tuum dici se gaudet alumnum, 10

1645, aged 84. See supr. note on Epigr. vii. 1.

† Wood calls this "an elegant Latin poem," Ath. Oxon. i. F. 263. This judgment undoubtedly came from Edward Philips, Milton's nephew, through Aubrey the antiquary.

1. *Hæc quoque, Manse, tuæ meditantur carmina, &c.*] Because he had already been celebrated by many poets. Quadrio says, by more than fifty.

5. See the same verse *Ad Patrem*, 102.

10. —*ille tuum dici se gaudet alumnum,*] Marino cultivated poetry in the academy of the Otiosi, of which Manso was one of the founders. Hither he was sent by the Muse, who was non inscia, not ignorant of his poetical abilities and inclinations, &c. For at first, against his will, his father had put him to the law.

Dum canit Assyrios divum prolixus amores ;  
 Mollis et Ausonias stupefecit carmine nymphas.  
 Ille itidem moriens tibi soli debita vates  
 Ossa, tibi soli, supremaque vota reliquit :  
 Nec manes pietas tua chara fefellit amici ;  
 Vidimus arridentem operoso ex ære poetam.

15

11. *Dum canit Assyrios divum prolixus amores ;*] The allusion is to Marino's poem *Il Adone*, prolix enough if we consider its subject; and in other respects spun out to an unwarrantable length. Marino's poem, called *Strage de gli Innocenti*, was published in 1633, about four years before Milton visited Italy. To this poem Milton is supposed to have been indebted in *Paradise Lost*. Mr. Hayley thinks it therefore very remarkable, that our author should not here have mentioned this poem of Marino, as well as his *Adone*. The observation at first sight is pertinent and just. But it should be remembered, that Milton did not begin his *Paradise Lost* till many years after this Epistle was written, and therefore such a poem could now be no object. Milton thought it sufficient to characterize Marino by his great and popular work only, omitting his other and less conspicuous performances. See Kippis's *Biogr.* Brit. iv. p. 341. From what is here said, however, it may be inferred, that Milton could be no stranger to the *Strage*, and must have seen it at an early period of his life.

16. *Vidimus arridentem operoso ex ære poetam.*] Marino's monument at Naples, erected by Manso. But the Academy of

the Humoristi are said, in Marino's epitaph, to have been the chief contributors.

Tasso was buried, in 1595, in the church of the monastery of Saint Onufrius at Rome; and his remains were covered, by his own desire, only with a plain stone. Cardinal Cynthio, whom he made his heir, soon afterwards proposed to build a splendid tomb to his memory; but the design never was carried into execution. Manso, to whom he bequeathed only his picture, and to whom he had committed some directions about his funeral, coming from Naples to Rome about 1605, and finding not so much as his name inscribed on the stone under which he was laid, offered to erect a suitable monument, but was not permitted. However, he procured this simple but expressive inscription to be engraved on the stone, *Torquati Tassi ossa*. At length the monument which now appears, was given by Cardinal Bevilacqua, of an illustrious family of Ferrara.

For a more particular account of the very singular attentions and honours which Marino received from Manso, the reader is referred to the *Italian Life of Marino*, by F. Ferrari, published at Venice in 1633, 4to. At the end of Marino's *Strage de gli*



Nec satis hoc visum est in utrumque, et nec pia cessant  
 Officia in tumulto; cupis integros rapere Orco,  
 Qua potes, atque avidas Parcarum eludere leges :  
 Amborum genus, et varia sub sorte peractam 20  
 Describis vitam, moresque, et dona Minervæ;  
 Æmulus illius, Mycalen qui natus ad altam,  
 Rettulit Æolii vitam facundus Homeri.  
 Ergo ego te, Clius et magni nomine Phœbi,  
 Manse pater, jubeo longum salvere per ævum, 25  
 Missus Hyperboreo juvenis peregrinus ab axe.  
 Nec tu longinquam bonus aspernabere Musam,  
 Quæ nuper gelida vix enutrita sub Arcto,  
 Imprudens Italas ausa est volitare per urbes.  
 Nos etiam in nostro modulantes flumine cygnos 30  
 Credimus obscuras noctis sensisse per umbras,  
 Qua Thamesis late puris argenteus urnis

Innocenti, and other poems. See p. 68, 82, 89, 90. Marino died at Naples in 1625, aged fifty-six.

22. — *Mycalen qui natus ad altam*, &c.] Herodotus, who wrote the Life of Homer. He was a native of Caria, where Mycale is a mountain. It is among those famous hills that blazed in Phæton's conflagration, Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 223. The allusion is happy, as it draws with it an implicit comparison between Tasso and Homer.

23. I have corrected the note on this verse after Bp. Mant in his *Life of Warton*. It is, however, doubtful whether the Ionic Life of Homer was written by Herodotus; it is often ascribed to Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Mycale, which is on the coast of

Ionin, is little connected with either of them. E.

28. *Quæ nuper gelida*, &c.] An insinuation, that cold climates are unfriendly to genius. As in *Par. Lost*, b. ix. 44.

—Or cold

*Climate*, or years damp my intended wing, &c.

See note on *El. v. 6*.

30. *Nos etiam in nostro modulantes flumine cygnos*, &c.] We northern men are not so unpoetical a race. Even we have the melodious swan on our Thames, &c.

32. *Qua Thamesis*, &c.] *Spenser. Hurd.*

This very probable supposition may be further illustrated. *Spenser* was born in London, before described as the "*Urbs reflua*" "*quam Thamesis alluit unda*."

Oceani glaucos perfundit gurgite crines:  
Quin et in has quondam pervenit Tityrus oras.

Sed neque nos genus incultum, nec inutile Phœbo,  
Qua plaga septeno mundi sulcata Trione 36  
Brumalem patitur longa sub nocte Boöten.  
Nos etiam colimus Phœbum, nos munera Phœbo  
Flaventes spicas, et lutea mala canistris,  
Halantemque crocum, perhibet nisi vana vetustas, 40  
Misimus, et lectas Druidum de gente choreas.  
Gens Druides antiqua, sacris operata deorum,  
Heroum laudes, imitandaque gesta canebant;  
Hinc quoties festo cingunt altaria cantu,  
Delo in herbosa, Graiæ de more puellæ, 45  
Carminibus lætis memorant Corineïda Loxo,

El. i. 9. And he is properly ranked with Chaucer. And the allusion may be to Spenser's Epithalamium of Thames, a long Episode in the Fairy Queen, iv. xi. 8. See also his Prothalamium.

36. *Quin et in has quondam pervenit Tityrus oras.*] Like me too, Chaucer travelled into Italy. In Spenser's Pastorals, Chaucer is constantly called *Tityrus*.

38. *Nos etiam colimus Phœbum, &c.*] He avails himself of a notion supported by Selden on the Polyolbion, that Apollo was worshipped in Britain. See his notes on Songs, viii. ix. Selden supposes also, that the British Druids invoked Apollo. See the next note. And Spanheim on Callimachus, vol. ii. 492. seq.

41. *Misimus, et lectas Druidum de gente choreas.*] He insinuates, that our British Druids were poets. As in Lycidas, v. 53.

Where your old Bards the famous  
Druids lie.

The poetical character of the Druids is attested by Cæsar, Bell. Gall. vi. 4. "Magnum numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur."

43. *Heroum laudes, imitandaque gesta canebant;*] See almost the same verse Ad Patrem, v. 46.

45. —*Graiæ de more puellæ.*] Ovid, Metam. ii. 711.

*Illa forte die castas de more puellas,  
&c.*

46. Our author converts the three Hyperborean Nymphs who sent fruits to Apollo in Delos, into British goddesses. See Callimachus, Hymn. Del. v. 292.

*Οὐρεϊ γὰρ Ἀλφειοῖ, καὶ ἰωνιοῦ Ἑσπερίῃ,  
Θρυγαστῆς Βαβυλῶν, &c.*

Milton here calls Callimachus's Loxo, *Corineis*, from Corineus, a Cornish giant. Some writers hold, that Britain, or rather that part of it called Scotland, was the fertile region of the Hyperborei.

Fatidicamque Upin, cum flavicoma Hecaërge,  
Nuda Caledonio variatas pectora fuco.

Fortunate senex, ergo quacunque per orbem  
Torquati decus, et nomen celebrabitur ingens, 50  
Claraque perpetui succrescet fama Marini,  
Tu quoque in ora frequens venies, plausumque vi-  
rorum,

Et parili carpes iter immortale volatu.  
Dicetur tum sponte tuos habitasse penates  
Cynthiaus, et famulas venisse ad limina Musas: 55  
At non sponte domum tamen idem, et regis adivit  
Rura Pheretiadæ, cœlo fugitivus Apollo;  
Ille licet magnum Alciden susceperat hospes;  
Tantum ubi clamosos placuit vitare bubulcos,  
Nobile mansueti cessit Chironis in antrum, 60

52. *Tu quoque in ora frequens  
venies, plausumque virorum,*] So  
Propertius, as Mr. Bowle ob-  
serves, iii. ix. 32.

—*Venies tu quoque in ora virum.*

This association of immortality  
is happily inferred.

56. *At non sponte domum ta-  
men, &c.*] Apollo, being driven  
from heaven, kept the cattle of  
king Admetus in Thessaly, who  
also entertained Hercules. This  
was in the neighbourhood of the  
river Peneus, and of mount Pe-  
lion, inhabited by Chiron. It  
has never been observed, that  
the whole context is a manifest  
imitation of a sublime Chorus  
in the *Alcestis* of Milton's fa-  
vourite Greek dramatist, Euripi-  
des, v. 581. seq.

Σὺ τοι καὶ ὁ Πηδῆας  
Εὐλύκερς Ἀπολλών  
ἤξειαι ναῦον·  
Ἐλπίδι σέθεν μολοσμένον

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Ἐν δὲ τοῖς γινώσκαι,  
Δαχμῶν διὰ κλισίῃν  
Βοσκῆμασι τοῖς τοῖς  
Ποικίλοις ὁμοίαισι.  
Σὺν δ' ἐπιμαρτυροῦν χάρις μιλί-  
ως βαλῶν τι λογιῶν,  
Ἐὰν δὲ, λίσσιν' Ὀφρυ-  
ος πατρὸς, λίσσιν'  
Ἀδελφῶν ἰλιν'  
Ἐχέμεν δ' ἀμφὶ σὺν ἀδελφῶν  
Φαῖσι, σπουδαίῳ  
Νεῖρεσι, ὑφ' ἡμεῶν σέθεν  
Βασιλεῦ' ἰλατὰς σφῶν κούρην,  
Χαίρειν' ἰσθρὸν μολοῦν

57. See Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 239.

Cynthiaus Admeti vaccas pavise *Phereas*, &c.

And *Epist. Heroid.* Ep. v. 151.  
*Pheretiades* occurs more than  
once in Ovid. From Homer, *Il.*  
ii. 763. xxiii. 376.

60. *Nobile mansueti cessit Chi-  
ronis in antrum,*] Chiron's cavern  
was ennobled by the visits and  
education of sages and heroes.  
Chiron is styled *mansuetus*, be-  
cause, although one of the Cen-

B b

Irriguos inter saltus, frondosaque tecta,  
Peneium prope rivum: ibi sæpe sub ilice nigra,  
Ad citharæ strepitum, blanda prece victus amici,  
Exilii duros lenibat voce labores.

Tum neque ripa suo, barathræ nec fixa sub imo 65  
Saxa stetero loco; nutat Trachinia rupes,  
Nec sentit solitas, immania pondera, silvas;  
Emotæque suis properant de collibus orni,  
Mulcenturque novo maculosi carmine lynces.

Diis dilecte senex, te Jupiter æquus oportet 70  
Nascentem, et miti lustrarit lumine Phœbus,  
Atlantisque nepos; neque enim, nisi charus ab ortu

taurs, and the inhabitant of a cave in a mountain, he excelled in learning, wisdom, and the most humane virtues. See a beautiful Poem in Dodsley's Miscellanies, by the late Mr. Bedingfield, called the Education of Achilles. Mr. Steevens adds, "The most endearing instance of the *mansuetude* of Chiron, will be found in his behaviour when the Argo sailed near the coast on which he lived. He came down to the very margin of the sea, bringing his wife with the young Achilles in her arms, that he might shew the child to his father Peleus who was proceeding on the voyage with the other Argonauts." Apollon. Rhod. lib. v. 553.

"Πηλεΐδης Ἀχιλλῆος φίλον διδάσκαλον παῖτα."

64. *Exilii duros lenibat voce labores.*] Ovid and Callimachus say, that he soothed the anxieties of love, not of banishment, with his music. But Milton uniformly follows Euripides, who says that

Apollo was unwillingly forced into the service of Admetus by Jupiter, for having killed the Cyclopes, *Alcest. v. 6.* Thus, v. 56.

At non sponte domum tamen idem, &c.

The very circumstances which introduces this fine compliment and digression.

65. *Tum neque ripa suo, &c.*] The bank of the river Peneus, just mentioned.

66. —*nutat Trachinia rupes.*] Mount Ceta, connected with the mountains, Pelion in which was Chiron's cave, and Othrys mentioned in the passage just cited from Euripides. See Ovid, *Metam. vii. 353.* But with no impropriety, Milton might here mean Pelion by the *Trachinian rock*; which, with the rest, had *immania pondera silvas*, and which Homer calls *στενὸφυλλον, frondosum.* Its *Orni* are also twice mentioned by V. Flaccus, *Argon. b. i. 406. and b. ii. 6.*

72. *Atlantisque nepos;*] See

Dīs superis, poterit magno favisse poetæ.  
 Hinc longæva tibi lento sub flore senectus  
 Vernat, et Æsonios lucratur vivida fusos; 75  
 Nondum deciduos servans tibi frontis honores,  
 Ingeniumque vigens, et adultum mentis acumen.  
 O mihi si mea sors talem concedat amicum,  
 Phæbæos decorasse viros qui tam bene norit,  
 Siquando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges, 80  
 Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem!  
 Aut dicam invictæ sociali fœdere mensæ  
 Magnanimos heroas; et, O modo spiritus adsit,

De Id. Platon. Note on v. 27. Mercury is the god of eloquence.

73. —*magno favisse poetæ.*] The great poet Tasso. Or a great poet like your friend Tasso. Either sense shews Milton's high idea of the author of the Gerusalemme.

74. —*lento sub flore senectus Vernat, &c.*] There is much elegance in *lento sub flore*. I venture to object to *vernal senectus*.

79. *Phæbæos decorasse viros, &c.*] *Phæbæos* is intirely an Ovidian epithet. Epist. Heroid. xvi. 180. Metam. iii. 130. And in numerous other places.

80. *Siquando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges, Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem! &c.*]

The *indigenæ reges* are the ancient kings of Britain. This was the subject for an epic poem that first occupied the mind of Milton. See the same idea repeated in Epitaph. Damon. v. 162. King Arthur, after his death, was supposed to be carried into the subterraneous land of Faerie or of Spirits, where he still reigned as a king, and whence

he was to return into Britain, to renew the Round Table, conquer all his old enemies, and reestablish his throne. He was, therefore, *etiam movens bella sub terris, still meditating wars under the earth*. The impulse of his attachment to this subject was not entirely suppressed: it produced his History of Britain. By the expression, *revocabo in carmina*, the poet means, that these ancient kings, which were once the themes of the British bards, should now again be celebrated in verse.

Milton in his Church Government, written 1641, says, that after the example of Tasso, "it haply would be no rashness, from an equal diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in one of our own ancient stories." Prose Works, i. 60. It is possible that the advice of Manso, the friend of Tasso, might determine our poet to a design of this kind.

82. —*sociali fœdere mensæ, &c.*] The knights, or associated champions, of King Arthur's Round Table.

Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte phalanges!  
 Tandem ubi non tacitæ permensus tempora vitæ, 85  
 Annorumque satur, cineri sua jura relinquam,  
 Ille mihi lecto madidis astaret ocellis,  
 Astanti sat erit si dicam, sim tibi curæ;  
 Ille meos artus, liventi morte solutos,  
 Curaret parva componi molliter urna: 90  
 Forsitan et nostros ducat de marmore vultus,  
 Nectens aut Paphia myrti aut Parnasside lauri

84. The fabulous exploits of the British Arthur against the Saxons:

86. *Annorumque satur*, &c. &c.] Mr. Steevens thinks, that the context is amplified from a beautiful passage in the *Medea* of Euripides, v. 1032. *Medea* speaks to her sons.

— Εἶχον ἐλπίδας

Πολλὰς ἐν ἡμῶν γυναικασίν τ' ἐμῇ,  
 Καὶ παύσαντων χερσὶν ἐν αἰεττοῖσιν  
 Ζῆλον αἰδῶντος.

90. —*parva componi molliter urna*:] I take this opportunity of observing, that Milton's biographers have given no clear or authentic account of the place of his interment. His burial is thus entered in the Register of Saint Giles's Cripplegate, "*John Melton*, gentleman. Consumption, Chancel. 12 Nov. 1674." I learn from Aubrey's manuscript, "He was buried at the upper end in S. Giles Cripplegate chancell. *Mem.* His Stone is now, 1681, removed; for about two years since, the two steppes to the communion-table were rased. I ghesse "*Jo. Speed* and he lie together." Hearne has very significantly remarked, that Milton was buried in the same church in which

Oliver Cromwell was married. Coll. MSS. vol. 143. p. 155. In the Surveys of London, published about the beginning of the present century, and later, Milton is said to be buried in the chancel of this church, but without any monument. The spot of his interment has within these few years been exactly ascertained. In 1777, Mr. Baskerville, an attorney of Crosby-square in Bishopsgate street, an enthusiastic admirer of Milton, wished on his death-bed to be buried by Milton's side. Accordingly, on his death, the proper search was made in Cripplegate church; and it was found, that Milton was buried near the Pulpit, on the right hand side at the upper end of the middle aisle. Milton's coffin was of lead, and appeared to be in good preservation.

90. A body supposed to be that of Milton was disinterred, and exposed to the curiosity of the public, in 1790. But there seems good reason to conclude that these remains were not his. Todd.

92 *Nectens aut Paphia myrti  
 aut Parnasside lauri*

*Eronde comas,*]

So Ad Patrem, v. 16.

Fronde comas, at ego secura pace quiescam.  
 Tum quoque, si qua fides, si præmia certa bonorum,  
 Ipse ego cælicolum semotus in æthera diuym, 95  
 Quo labor et mens pura vehunt, atque ignea virtus,  
 Secreti hæc aliqua mundi de parte videbo,  
 Quantum fata sinunt: et tota mente serenum  
 Ridens, purpureo suffundar lumine vultus,  
 Et simul æthereo plaudam mihi lætus Olympo. 100

## EPITAPHIUM DAMONIS.

## ARGUMENTUM.

*Thyrsis et Damon ejusdem viciniae pastores, eadem studia sequuti, a pueritia amici erant, ut qui plurimum. Thyrsis animi causa profectus peregre de obitu Damonis nuncium accepit. Domum postea reversus, et rem ita esse comperto, se, suamque solitudinem hoc carmine deplorat. Damonis autem sub persona hic intelligitur CAROLUS DEODATUS ex urbe Hetruriæ Luca paterno genere oriundus, cætera Anglus; ingenio, doctrina, clarissimisque cæteris virtutibus, dum viveret, juvenis egregius.\**

Et nemoris laureta sacri *Parnassides*  
 umbræ.

Ovid, *Metam.* xi. 165.

Ille caput flavum lauro *Parnasside*  
 vinctus.

Virgil's epithet is *Parnassias*. In the text he joins the Myrtle and the Laurel, as in *Lycidas*, v. 1.

Yet once more, O ye *Laurels*, once  
 more,

Ye *Myrtles* brown, &c.

\* See notes on *El. i.* Charles Deodate's father, Theodore, was born at Geneva, of an Italian family, in 1574. He came young into England, where he married an English Lady of

good birth and fortune. He was a Doctor in Physic; and, in 1609, appears to have been physician to Prince Henry, and the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards Queen of Bohemia. Fuller's Worthies, Middlesex, p. 186. He lived then at Brentford, where he performed a wonderful cure by phlebotomy; as appears by his own narrative of the case, in a Letter dated 1629, printed by Hakewill at the end of his *Apologie*, Lond. 1630. Signat. Y y 4. One of his descendants, Mons. Auton. Josuè Diodati, who has honoured me with some of these

HIMERIDES nymphæ (nam vos et Daphnin et  
Hylan,

Et plorata diu meministis fata Bionis)

Dicite Sicelicum Thamesina per oppida carmen:

Quas miser effudit voces, quæ murmura Thyrsis,

Et quibus assiduis exercuit antra querelis,

notices, is now the learned Librarian of the Republic of Geneva.

Theodore's brother, Giovanni Deodati, was an eminent theologian of Geneva; with whom Milton, in consequence of his connection with Charles, contracted a friendship during his abode at Geneva, and whose annotations on the Bible were translated into English by the puritans. The original is in French, and was printed at Geneva, 1638. He also published, "Theses LX de Peccato in Genere et specie, Genev. 1620."—"I sacri Salmi, messi in rime Italiane da Giovanni Diodati, 1631. 12mo."—"An Italian Translation of the Bible, 1607."—And "An Answer sent to the Ecclesiastical Assembly at London, with marginal observations by King Charles the First. Newcastle, 1647." But this last is a translation into English, by one of the puritans. Perhaps the only genuine copy of it, for there were many spurious editions, is now to be seen in the Bodleian library. See Lord Orrery's Memoirs by T. Morrice, prefixed to State Papers, ch. i. In which it is said by Lord Orrery, who lived a year in his house, that G. Deodati was not unfavourably disposed towards the English

hierarchy, but wished it might be received under some restrictions at Geneva; that he was a learned man, a celebrated preacher, and an excellent companion. The family left Italy on account of religion. Compare Archbishop Usher's Letters, Lond. 1686. ad calc. Lett. xii. p. 14.

1. *Himerides nymphæ*] Himera is the famous bucolic river of Theocritus, who sung the death of Daphnis, and the loss of Hylas. Bion, in the next line, was lamented by Moschus. In the Argument of this Pastoral, "*Rem ita esse comperto*," Tickell has ignorantly and arbitrarily altered *comperto* to *comperiens*. He is followed, as usual, by Fenton.

1. The first syllable of Hylas is unquestionably short. This, however, was only a slip of Milton's pen; in his seventh Elegy the quantity of Hylas is right. Himera is only twice mentioned by Theocritus. But according to some he was born at Syracuse; which, however, is only connected with the Himera as it is in Sicily. Symmons.

5. The structure of Milton's hexameters in this poem is, for the most part, of that appropriate kind which, according to Terentianus Maurus, is called the bucolic as distinguished



Fluminaque, fontesque vagos, nemorumque recessus;  
 Dum sibi præreptum queritur Damona, neque altam  
 Luctibus exemit noctem, loca sola pererrans,  
 Et jam bis viridi surgebat culmus arista,  
 Et totidem flavas numerabant horrea messes,  
 Ex quo summa dies tulerat Damona sub umbras,  
 Nec dum aderat Thyrsis, pastorem scilicet illum  
 Dulcis amor Musæ Thusca retinebat in urbe:  
 Ast ubi mens expleta domum, pecorisque relictæ  
 Cura vocat, simul assueta seditque sub ulmo,  
 Tum vero amissum tum denique sentit amicum,  
 Cœpit et immensum sic exonerare dolorem.

Ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat, agni.  
 Hei mihi! quæ terris, quæ dicam numina cœlo,  
 Postquam te immiti rapuerunt funere, Damon!  
 Siccine nos linquis, tua sic sine nomine virtus  
 Ibit, et obscuris numero sociabitur umbris?  
 At non ille, animas virga qui dividit aurea,  
 Ista velit, dignumque tui te ducat in agmen,  
 Ignavumque procul pecus arceat omne silentium.

Ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat, agni.  
 Quicquid erit, certe nisi me lupus ante videbit,  
 Indeplorato non comminuere sepulchro,

from the epic. The proper structure of the bucolic verse, observed more by Theocritus than by Virgil, is where the first four feet are not as in this line linked by a syllable to the fifth, but left distinct, as

Non; — verum Ægonis; naper  
 mihi | tradidit Ægon.  
 Symmons.

13. Thyrsis, or Milton, was now at Florence. It is observable,

that he gives this name to the Spirit, assuming the habit of a shepherd, in Comus.

15. —*assueta seditque sub ulmo,*] Il Pens. v. 60.

Gently o'er th' accusom'd oak.

28. *Indeplorato non comminuere sepulchro,*] Ovid, Trist. iii. lii. 45.

Sed sine funeribus caput hoc, sine honore sepulchri,  
*Indeploratum barbara terra teget?*

Constabitque tuus tibi honos, longumque vigebit  
 Inter pastores: Illi tibi vota secundo 30  
 Solvere post Daphnin, post Daphnin dicere laudes,  
 Gaudebunt, dum rura Palès, dum Faunus amabit:  
 Si quid id est, priscamque fidem coluisse, piumque,  
 Palladiasque artes, sociumque habuisse canorum.

Ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat, agni. 35  
 Hæc tibi certa manent, tibi erunt hæc præmia, Damon,  
 At mihi quid tandem fiet modo? quis mihi fidus  
 Hærebit lateri comes, ut tu sæpe solebas  
 Frigoribus duris, et per loca fœta pruinis,  
 Aut rapido sub sole, siti morientibus herbis? 40  
 Sive opus in magnos fuit eminus ire leones,  
 Aut avidos terrere lupos præsepibus altis;  
 Quis fando sopire diem, cantuque solebit?

Ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat, agni.  
 Pectora cui credam? quis me lenire docebit 45  
 Mordaces curas, quis longam fallere noctem  
 Dulcibus alloquiis, grato cum sibilat igni  
 Molle pyrum, et nucibus strepitat focus, et malus  
 Auster

Miscet cuncta foris, et desuper intonat ulmo?

Ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat, agni. 50  
 Aut æstate, dies medio dum vertitur axe,  
 Cum Pan æsculea somnum capit abditus umbra,

See also *Metam.* xi. 670. And  
*Ibis*, v. 166. See note on *Lycid.*  
 v. 14.

46. See note on *Sonnet*, xx.  
 3. And *El.* vi. 12.

52. In *Theocritus*, the shep-  
 herds are afraid to wake Pan,  
 who constantly sleeps in the  
 middle of the day, *Idyll.* i. 16.

See also *Fletcher*, *Faithf. Shep-  
 herd.* act i. s. i. vol. 3. p. 107.  
 who imitates *Theocritus*, with-  
 out seeing the superstition an-  
 nexed to the time of noon.

Lest the great Pan do awake,  
 That sleeping lies in a deep glade  
 Under a broad beech's shade.

Et repetunt sub aquis sibi nota sedilia nymphæ,  
 Pastoresque latent, stertit sub sepe colonus;  
 Quis mihi blanditiasque tuas, quis tum mihi risus, 55  
 Cecropiosque sales referet, cultosque lepores?

Ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat, agni,  
 At jam solus agros, jam pascua solus oberro,  
 Sicubi ramosæ densantur vallibus umbræ;  
 Hic serum expecto; supra caput imber et Eurus 60  
 Triste sonant, fractæque agitata crepuscula sylvæ.

Ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat, agni.  
 Heu, quam culta mihi prius arva procacibus herbis  
 Involvuntur, et ipsa situ seges alta fatiscit!  
 Innuba neglecto marcescit et uva racemo, 65  
 Nec myrteta juvant; ovium quoque tædet, at illæ  
 Mœrent, inque suum convertunt ora magistrum.

Ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat, agni.  
 Tityrus ad corylos vocat, Alpheſibœus ad ornos,  
 Ad salices Aegon, ad flumina pulcher Amyntas, 70  
 "Hic gelidi fontes, hic illita gramina musco,  
 "Hic Zephyri, hic placidas interstrepit arbutus  
 "undas;"

Ista canunt surdo, frutices ego nactus abibam.

Ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat, agni.  
 Mopsus ad hæc, nam me redeuntem forte notar, 75

61. The idea in this line is beautifully conceived and expressed. The broken and agitated shadows of the shaking wood are placed in strong representation before our eyes; and we are reminded not only of our author's *chequered shade*, but of a fine expansion of the same image in the *Task*. Book i.

How airy and how light &c.

. . . . . as the leaves  
 Play wanton, every moment, every  
 spot.

Symmons.

66. — *ovium quoque tædet, at  
 illæ  
 Mœrent, inque suum convertunt  
 ora magistrum.*  
 So in *Lycidas*, v. 125.

The hungry sheep look up, and are  
 not fed.

(Et callebat avium linguas, et sidera Mopsus)  
 Thyrsi, quid hoc? dixit, quæ te coquit improbabilis?  
 Aut te perdit amor, aut te male fascinat astrum,  
 Saturni grave sæpe fuit pastoribus astrum,  
 Intimaque obliquo figit præcordia plumbo. 80

Ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat, agni.  
 Mirantur nymphæ, et quid te, Thyrsi, futurum est?  
 Quid tibi vis? aiunt, non hæc solet esse juvenæ  
 Nubila frons, oculique truces, vultusque severi,  
 Illa choros, lususque leves, et semper amorem 85  
 Jure petit: bis ille miser qui serus amavit.

Ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat, agni.  
 Venit Hyas, Dryopeque, et filia Baucidis Aegle,  
 Docta modos, citharæque sciens, sed perdita fastu;  
 Venit Idumanii Chloris vicina fluenti; 90  
 Nil me blanditiæ, nil me solantia verba,  
 Nil me, si quid adest, movet, aut spes ulla futuri.  
 Ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat, agni.

76. Avium cannot with any authorized licence be contracted into a dissyllable. Symmons.

79. Planet-struck by the planet Saturn. See Lycid. v. 138. Arcad. v. 52. But why is the influence of this planet more particularly fatal to shepherds? Unless on account of its coldness. It is in general called a noxious star: and Propertius says, l. iv. i. 84.

Et grave Saturni sydus in omne caput.

Its melancholy effects are here expressed by its wounding the heart with an arrow of lead. And perhaps our author had a concealed allusion to this Saturnine lead, in making his Melancholy the daughter of Saturn.

Il Pena. v. 43.

With a sad leaden downward cast, &c.

79. Lead was called *Saturnus* by the chymists, who anciently gave the names of the planets to the several metals. E.

89. Docta modos, citharæque sciens,] Horace, Od. iii. ix. 9.

Dulces docta modos, et citharæ sciens.

90. The river Chelmer in Essex is called *Idumanium flentum*, near its influx into Blackwater bay. Ptolemy calls this bay *Portus Idumanicus*.

92. Doctor Parr suggests that *futurum* without an adjunct never means future time, but a future event. Symmons.

Hei mihi, quam similes ludunt per prata juvenci,  
 Omnes unanimi secum sibi lege sodales! 95  
 Nec magis hunc alio quisquam secernit amicum  
 De grege, sic densi veniunt ad pabula thoës,  
 Inque vicem hirsuti paribus junguntur onagri;  
 Lex eadem pelagi, deserto in littore Proteus  
 Agmina Phocarum numerat; vilisque volucrum 100  
 Passer habet semper quicum sit, et omnia circum  
 Farra libens volitet, sero sua tecta revisens;  
 Quem si sors letho objecit, seu milvus adunco  
 Fata tulit rostro, seu stravit arundine fossor,  
 Protinus ille alium socio petit inde volatu. 105  
 Nos durum genus, et diris exercita fati  
 Gens homines, aliena animis, et pectore discors;  
 Vix sibi quisque parem de millibus invenit unum;  
 Aut si sors dederit tandem non aspera votis,  
 Illum inopina dies, qua non speraveris hora, 110  
 Surripit, æternum linquens in sæcula damnum.

Ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat, agni.  
 Heu quis me ignotas traxit vagus error in oras  
 Ire per aëreas rupes, Alpemque nivosam!  
 Ecquid erat tanti Romam vidisse sepultam, 115  
 (Quamvis illa foret, qualem dum viseret olim,  
 Tityrus ipse suas et oves et rura reliquit;)  
 Ut te tam dulci possem caruisse sodale,  
 Possem tot maria alta, tot interponere montes,

113. *Heu quis me ignotas, &c.*] He has parodied a verse in Virgil's Eclogues, into a very natural and pathetic complaint, *Et quæ tanta fuit Romam, &c.* i. 27. And there is much address in the parenthesis introducing Vir-

gil, which points out that veræ.

116. *Quamvis illa foret, &c.*] Although Rome was as fine a city at present, as when visited by Tityrus or Virgil, *Ecl.* i. ut supr.

119. He addresses the same

Tot sylvas, tot saxa tibi, fluviosque sonantes ! 120  
 Ah certe extremum licuisset tangere dextram,  
 Et bene compositos placide morientis ocellos,  
 Et dixisse, " Vale, nostri memor ibis ad astra."

Ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat, agni.  
 Quamquam etiam vestri nunquam meminisse pigebit,  
 Pastores Thusci, Musis operata juvenus, 126  
 Hic Charis, atque Lepos; et Thuscus tu quoque  
 Damon,

Antiqua genus unde petis Lucumonis ab urbe.  
 O ego quantus eram, gelidi cum stratus ad Arni  
 Murmura, populeumque nemus, qua mollior herba, 130  
 Carpere nunc violas, nunc summas carpere myrtos,  
 Et potui Lycidæ certantem audire Menalcam.  
 Ipse etiam tentare ausus sum, nec puto multum  
 Displicui, nam sunt et apud me munera vestra  
 Fiscellæ, calathique, et cerea vincla cicutæ: 135  
 Quin et nostra suas docuerunt nomina fagos  
 Et Datis, et Francinus, erant et vocibus ambo

sentiment to T. Young, El. iv. 21. Milton, while in Italy, visited Rome twice.

128. — [*Lucumonis ab urbe.*] Luca, or Lucca, an ancient city of Tuscany, was founded by Lucumon or Leumon, an Hetruscan king. See the first note on El. i.

137. *Et Datis, et Francinus.*] Carlo Dati of Florence, with whom Milton corresponded after his return to England. In a Latin letter to Dati, dated at London, Apr. 21, 1647, Milton speaks of having sent this poem to Dati, and also mentions his intention of sending his book of Latin poems published two years

before, 1645. Prose Works, vol. ii. 572. Dati has a Latin eulogy prefixed to the *Poemata*, edit. 1673. So has Antonio Francini an Italian ode, of considerable merit.

In Burman's *Sylloge*, in a Letter from Cuperus to Heinsius, dated 1672, a Carolus Datus is mentioned, "cujus eruditionis sponsores habeo librum de *vita Pictorum*," vol. ii. 671. That is, his *Lives of four of the Ancient Painters*. Again in another from the same, dated 1676, his death is mentioned with much regret, where he is called *vir in Etruscis præstantissimus*, and one whose loss would be deeply felt

Et studiis noti, Lydorum sanguinis ambo.

Ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat, agni.

Hæc mihi tum læto dictabat roscida luna,

140

by the learned, *ibid.* 693. In another, from N. Heinsius, dated 1647, he is called "amicissimum " mihi juvenem," *iii.* 193. Again, *ibid.* 806, 820, 826, 827. In another from the same, dated 1652, "Scribit ad me Datus Florentie " in Mediceo codice extare, &c." *ibid.* 294. He corresponds with J. Vossius in 1647, *ibid.* 573. Vossius, and others, wish him to publish Doni's book of Inscriptions, *ibid.* 574. seq. Spanheim, in 1661, writes to N. Heinsius to introduce him to Carlo Dati and other learned men at Florence, *ibid.* 817. In a Letter from N. Heinsius, dated 1676, "Mors repentina Caroli Dati " quanto moerore me confecerit, " vix est ut verbis exprimatur. " Ne nunc quidem, cum virum " cogito, a lacrymis temperare " possum &c." *vol.* iv. 409. See also *vol.* v. 577, 578. In a Letter to Christina Queen of Sweden, dated 1652, from Florence, N. Heinsius sends her an Italian epigram by Dati, much applauded, *on her late accident*, *ibid.* 757. Again, from the same to the same, 1652, "Habes et " hic Caroli Dati Epigramma " Etruscum. Est autem ille, " quod et alia monui occasione, " magni inter Florentinos Poetas " nominis; laudes tuas singulari " parat poemate." *Ibid.* 758. See also p. 744, 742, 472. He was celebrated for his skill in Roman antiquities. A Dissertation is addressed to him from Octavio Falconeri, concerning an inscribed Roman brick taken from the rub-

bish of an ancient Roman structure, destroyed for rebuilding the Portico of the Pantheon, 1661. Grævii Roman. Antiquit. iv. 1483.

Mr. Brand accidentally discovered on a book-stall a manuscript which he purchased, entitled, *La Tina*, by Antonio Malatesti not yet enumerated among Milton's Italian friends. [A. Malatesti is mentioned by Milton in a letter to Carlo Dati, *Epist.* Fam. x. *Todd.*] It is dedicated by the author to John Milton while at Florence. Mr. Brand gave it to Mr. Hollis, who, in 1758, sent it together with Milton's works, both in poetry and prose, and his *Life* by Toland, to the academy della Crusca. The first piece would have been a greater curiosity in England.

138. — *Lydorum sanguinis ambo.*] Of the most ancient Tuscan families. The Lydians brought a colony into Italy, whence came the Tuscans. On this origin of the Tuscans from the Lydians, Horace founds the claim of the Tuscan Mæcenas to a high and illustrious ancestry. *Sat.* i. vi. 1.

Non quia, Mæcenas, *Lydorum* quicquid *Etruscos*

Incoluit fines, nemo generosior est te.

See also *Propert.* iii. ix. 1. It is for this reason, Virgil says, *Æn.* ii. 782.

—Ubi *Lydus arva*

Inter opima virum leni fuit agmine *Tybris.*

*Lydian*, that is *Tuscan*: and *Tuscany* is washed by the *Tyber*.

140. *Hæc mihi tum læto dictabat roscida luna,*

Dum solus teneros claudebam cratibus hædos.  
 Ah quoties dixi, cum te cinis ater habebat,  
 Nunc canit, aut lepori nunc tendit retia Damon,  
 Vimina nunc textit, varios sibi quod sit in usus !  
 Et quæ tum facili sperabam mente futura 145  
 Arripui voto levis, et præsentia finxi,  
 Heus bone numquid agis ? nisi te quid forte retardat,  
 Imus ? et arguta paulum recubamus in umbra,  
 Aut ad aquas Colni, aut ubi jugera Cassibelauni ?  
 Tu mihi percurres medicos, tua gramina, succos, 150  
 Helleborumque, humilesque crocos, foliumque hya-  
 cinthi,  
 Quasque habet ista palus herbas, artesque medentum.  
 Ah pereant herbæ, pereant artesque medentum,  
 Gramina, postquam ipsi nil profecere magistro.

*Dum solus teneros claudebam  
 cratibus hædos.]*

As in *Lycidas*, v. 29.

Battering our flocks with the fresh  
 dews of night.

The *Crates* are the walled coles  
 in *Comus*, v. 345.

149. *Aut ad aquas Colni, aut  
 ubi jugera Cassibelauni ?* The  
 river Colne flows through Buck-  
 inghamshire and Hertfordshire,  
 in Milton's neighbourhood. Our  
 author's father's house and lands  
 at Horton near Colnbrook, were  
 held under the Earl of Bridge-  
 water, before whom *Comus* was  
 acted at Ludlow-Castle. Mil-  
 ton's mother is buried in the  
 chancel of Horton church, with  
 this Inscription on a flat stone  
 over the grave. "Heare lyeth  
 "the body of Sara Milton the  
 "wife of John Milton, who died  
 "the 3d of April, 1637."

By *jugera Cassibelauni*, we are  
 to understand *Verulam* or *Saint  
 Alban's*, called the town of  
*Cassibelan*, an ancient British  
 king. See *Camd. Brit.* i. 321.  
 edit. *Gibs.* 1772. Milton's ap-  
 pellations are often conveyed by  
 the poetry of ancient fable.

150. *Tu mihi percurres medicos,  
 tua gramina, succos,]* *Deodate*  
 is the shepherd lad in *Comus*, v.  
 619.

—A certain shepherd lad,  
 Of small regard to see to, yet well  
 skill'd  
 In every virtuous plant, and healing  
 herb,  
 That spreads her verdant leaf to th'  
 morning ray :  
 He lov'd me well, and oft would beg  
 me sing,  
 And in requital ope his leathern scrip,  
 And shew me simples of a thousand  
 names,  
 Telling their strange and vigorous  
 faculties, &c.

See note on *El.* vi. 90.



Ipse etiam, nam nescio quid mihi grande sonabat 155  
 Fistula, ab undecima jam lux est altera nocte,  
 Et tum forte novis admoram labra cicutis,  
 Dissiluere tamen rupta compage, nec ultra  
 Ferre graves potuere sonos : dubito quoque ne sim  
 Turgidulus, tamen et referam, vos cedite sylvæ. 160  
 Ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat, agni.  
 Ipse ego Dardanias Rutupina per æquora puppes  
 Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,  
 Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Be-  
 linum,  
 Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos; 165  
 Tum gravidam Arturo, fatali fraude, Iögerneu,  
 Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlois arma,  
 Merlini dolus. O mihi tum si vita supersit,

155. He hints his design of quitting pastoral, and the lighter kinds of poetry, to write an epic poem. This, it appears by what follows, was to be on some part of the ancient British story.

162. *Ipse ego Dardanias, &c.*] The landing of the Trojans in England under Brutus. Rutupium is a part of the Kentish coast.

Brutus married Inogen, the eldest daughter of Pandrasus a Grecian king; from whose bondage Brutus had delivered his countrymen the Trojans. Brennus and Belinus were the sons of Molutius Dunwallo, by some writers called the first king of Britain. The two sons carried their victorious arms into Gaul and Italy. Arviragus, or Arvirage, the son of Cunobelin, conquered the Roman general Claudius. He is said to have founded Dover castle.

165. *Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos;*] Armorica, or Brittany in France, was peopled by the Britons when they fled from the Saxons.

166. *Tum gravidam Arturo, &c.*] Iogerne was the wife of Gorloise prince of Cornwall. Merlin transformed Uther Pendragon into Gorlois; by which artifice Uther had access to the bed of Iogerne, and begat King Arthur. This was in Tintagel castle in Cornwall. See Geffr. Monm. viii. 19. The story is told by Selden on the Polyolbion, s. i. vol. ii. 674.

Perhaps it will be said, that I am retailing much idle history. But this is such idle history as Milton would have clothed in the richest poetry.

168. *O mihi, &c.*] I have corrected the pointing. "And O, "if I should have long life to "execute these designs, you, my

Tu procul annosa pendebis fistula pinu,  
 Multum oblita mihi; aut patriis mutata Camœnis 170  
 Brittonicum strides, quid enim? omnia non licet uni  
 Non sperasse uni licet omnia, mi satis ampla  
 Merces, et mihi grande decus (sim ignotus in ævum  
 Tum licet, externo penitusque inglorius orbi)  
 Si me flava comas legat Usa, et potor Alauni, 175  
 Vorticibusque frequens Abra, et nemus omne Treantæ,

"rural pipe, shall be hung up  
 "forgotten on yonder ancient  
 "pine: you are now employed  
 "in Latin strains, but you shall  
 "soon be exchanged for English  
 "poetry. Will you then sound  
 "in rude British tones?—Yes—  
 "We cannot excel in all things.  
 "I shall be sufficiently contented  
 "to be celebrated at home for  
 "English verse." Our author  
 says in the Preface to Ch. Gov.  
 b. ii. "Not caring to be once  
 "named abroad, though perhaps  
 "I could attain to that: but  
 "content with these British  
 "islands as my world." Prose  
 Works, vol. i. 60.

171. *Brittonicum*] In length-  
 ening the first syllable of this  
 word, contrary to the usage of  
 Virgil, Horace, &c. Milton is  
 supported by Lucretius, vi. 1104.  
*Synonyms.*

175. *Si me flava comas legat  
 Usa, et potor Alauni,*] Usa is  
 perhaps the Ouse in Bucking-  
 hamshire. But other rivers have  
 that name, which signifies water  
 in general. Alaunus is Alain in  
 Dorsetshire, Alonde in Northum-  
 berland, and Camlan in Corn-  
 wall; and is also a Latin name  
 for other rivers.

176. *Vorticibusque frequens A-  
 bra,*] So Ovid, of the river Eve-  
 nus. *Metam.* ix. 106.

*Vorticibusque frequens erat, nique im-  
 pervius amnis.*

And Tyber is "densus vortici-  
 "bus," *Fast.* vi. 502.

*Abra* has been used as a Latin  
 name for the Tweed, the Hum-  
 ber, and the Severn, from the  
 British *Abren*, or *Aber*, a river's  
 mouth. Of the three, I think  
 the Humber, *vorticibus frequens*,  
 is intended.

Leland proves from some old  
 monkish lines, that the Severn  
 was originally called *Abren*; a  
 name, which afterwards the  
 Welch bards pretended to be  
 derived from King Lochrine's  
 daughter *Abrine*, not *Sabrine*,  
 drowned in that river. *Comm.*  
*Cygn. Cant.* vol. ix. p. 67. edit.  
 1744. In the Tragedy of Lo-  
 crine, written about 1594, this  
 lady is called *Subren*. *Suppl.*  
*Shakesp.* vol. ii. p. 262. a. iv. s. 5.

Yes, damsels, yes, *Sabren* shall surely  
 die, &c.

And it is added, that the river  
 [Severn] into which she is  
 thrown, was thence called *Sa-  
 bren*. *Sabren*, through *Safren*,  
 easily comes to *Severn*. See *Co-  
 mus*, v. 826. seq.

In the same play, Humber the  
 Scythian king exclaims, p. 246.  
 a. iv. s. 4.

And gentle *Aby* take my troubled  
 corse.

Et Thamesis meus ante omnes, et fusca metallis  
 Tamara, et extremis me discant Orcades undis.

Ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat, agni.

Hæc tibi servabam lenta sub cortice lauri, 180

Hæc, et plura simul; tum quæ mihi pocula Mansus,  
 Mansus Chalcidicæ non ultima gloria ripæ.

Bina dedit, mirum artis opus, mirandus et ipse,

Et circum gemino cælaverat argumento :

In medio rubri maris unda, et odoriferum ver, 185

Littora longa Arabum, et sudantes balsama sylvæ,

Has inter Phœnix divina avis, unica terris,

Cæruleum fulgens diversicoloribus alis,

Auroram vitreis surgentem respicit undis ;

Parte alia polus omnipatens, et magnus Olympus: 190

That is, the river *Aby*, which just before is called *Abis*. Ptolemy, enumerating our rivers that fall into the eastern sea, mentions *Abi*; but probably the true reading is *Abri*, which came from *Aber*. *Aber* might soon be corrupted into *Humber*. The derivation of the *Humber* from *Humber*, king of the Huns, is as fabulous, as that the name *Severn* was from *Abrine* or *Sabrine*. But if *Humber*, a king of the Huns, has any concern in this name, the best way is to reconcile matters, and associate both etymologies in *Hun-Aber*, or *Humber*.

176. —*nemus omne Treanta*.] The river *Trent*. In the next line, he calls *Thamesis*, *meus*, because he was born in London.

177. —*fusca metallis  
 Tamara*.]

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The river *Tamar* in Cornwall, tinctured with tin-mines.

182. *Mansus Chalcidicæ non ultima gloria ripæ*.] Manso celebrated in the last poem, and a Neapolitan. A people called the *Chalcidici* are said to have founded Naples. See the third Epigram on Leonora, v. 4. "Corpora "Chalcidico sacra dedisse rogo." And Virgil's tenth Eclogue, *Chalcidico versu*, v. 50. And *Æn.* vi. 17.

183. Perhaps a poetical description of two real cups thus richly ornamented, which Milton received as presents from Manso at Naples. He had flattered himself with the happiness of shewing these tokens of the regard with which he had been treated in his travels, to Deodate, at his return. Or perhaps this is an allegorical description of some of Manso's favours.

C C

Quis putet? hic quoque Amor, pictæque in nube  
pharetræ,

Arma corusca faces, et spicula tineta pyropo;

Nec tenues animas, pectusque ignobile vulgi

Hinc ferit, at circum flammantia lumina torquens,

Semper in erectum spargit sua tela per orbes 195

Impiger, et pronos nunquam collimat ad ictus.

Hinc mentes ardere sacræ, formæque deorum.

Tu quoque in his, nec me fallit spes lubrica, Damon,

Tu quoque in his certe es, nam quo tua dulcis abiret

Sanctaque simplicitas, nam quo tuâ candida virtus? 200

Nec te Lethæo fas quæsisisse sub orco,

Nec tibi conveniunt lacrymæ, nec flebimus ultra,

Ite procul lacrymæ, purum colit æthera Damon,

Æthera purus habet, pluvium pede reppulit arcum;

Heroumque animas inter, divosque perennes, 205

Æthereos haurit latices, et gaudia potat

Ore sacro. Quin tu, cœli post jura recepta,

Dexter ades, placidusque fave quicumque vocaris,

Seu tu noster eris Damon, sive æquior audis

Diodotus, quo te divino nomine cuncti 210

Cœlicolæ norint, sylvisque vocabere Damon:

Quod tibi purpureus pudor, et sine labe juvenus

195. He aims his darts upwards, *per orbes*, among the stars. He wounds the gods.

198. *Tu quoque in his, &c.*] The transition is elegant.

201. *Nec te Lethæo fas quæsisisse sub orco, &c.*] From this line to the last but one, the imagery is almost all from his own *Lycidas*, v. 165—185.

210. For the accommodation

of his verse, the poet has in this place happily translated the name of his friend Deodati into Greek. But Milton was fond of these versions of a name which was so susceptible of translation. In each of the two familiar letters to his friend, which are extant, he calls him Theodotus. *Symmons*.

Grata fuit, quod nulla tori libata voluptas,  
 En etiam tibi virginei servantur honores ;  
 Ipse caput nitidum cinctus rutilante corona, 215  
 Lætaque frondentis gestans umbracula palmæ,  
 Æternum perages immortales hymenæos ;  
 Cantus ubi, choreisque furit lyra mista beatis,  
 Festa Sionæo bacchantur et Orgia thyrso.\*

Jan. 23. 1646.

*Ad JOANNEM ROUSIUM Oxoniensis Academiae  
 Bibliothecarium.†*

*De libro Poematum amisso, quem ille sibi denuo mitti postu-  
 labat, ut cum aliis nostris in Bibliotheca publica reponeret,  
 Ode.*

STROPHE 1.

GEMELLE cultu simplici gaudens liber,  
 Fronde licet gemina,

214. *En etiam tibi virginei ser-  
 vantur honores ;]* Deodate and  
 Lycidas were both unmarried.  
 See Revelations, for his allusion,  
 xiv. 3, 4.

\* Doctor Johnson observes,  
 that this poem is " written with  
 " the common but childish imi-  
 " tation of pastoral life." Yet  
 there are some new and natural  
 country images, and the common  
 topics are often recommended  
 by a novelty of elegant expres-  
 sion. The pastoral form is a  
 fault of the poet's times. It  
 contains also some passages which  
 wander far beyond the bounds  
 of bucolic song, and are in his  
 own original style of the more  
 sublime poetry. Milton cannot

be a shepherd long. His own  
 native powers often break forth,  
 and cannot bear the assumed  
 disguise.

† John Rouse, or Russe, Mas-  
 ter of Arts, Fellow of Oriel Col-  
 lege, Oxford, was elected chief  
 librarian of the Bodleian, May 9,  
 1620. He died in April, 1652,  
 and was buried in the chapel of  
 his college. He succeeded to  
 Thomas James, the first that held  
 this office from the foundation.  
 In painted glass, in a window of  
 the Provost's Lodgings at Oriel  
 College, are the heads of Sir  
 Thomas Bodley, James, and  
 Rouse, by Van Ling. Hearne  
 says, they were put up by

Munditieque uitens non operosa ;

Quam manus attulit

Rouse: they were probably brought from Rouse's apartment to the Provost's Lodgings, when the College was rebuilt "about 1640." Hearne, MSS. Coll. xii. p. 13. Rouse's portrait, large as life, a three quarters length, and coeval, is in the Bodleian library. He published an Appendix to James's Bodleian Catalogue, Oxon. 1636. 4to. In 1631, the University printed, "Epistola ad Johannem Cirenbergium, ob acceptum Synodaliū Epistolarum Concilii Basileensis *Αντιγραφον*, præfixa variorum carminibus honorariis in eundem Cirenbergium." Oxon. 1631." In quarto. Where among the names of the writers in Latin, are Richard Busby of Christ Church, afterwards the celebrated Master of Westminster: Jasper Maine, and Thomas Cartwright, both well known as English poets, and of the same college: and Thomas Masters of New college, author of the famous Greek Ode on the Crucifixion. The Dedication, to Cirenberg, is written by our librarian Rouse, who seems to have conducted the publication. In it he speaks of his Travels, and particularly of his return from Italy through Basil. He has a copy of not inelegant Latin Elegiacs, in the Oxford verses, called *Britanniæ Natalis*, Oxon. 1630. 4to. p. 62. Hearne says, that Rouse was intimate with Burton, author of the celebrated book on *Melancholie*; and that he furnished Burton with choice books for that work. MSS. Coll. cxli. p. 114. He lived on terms

of the most intimate friendship with G. J. Vossius; by whom he was highly valued and respected for his learning, and activity in promoting literary undertakings. This appears from Vossius's Epistles to Rouse, viz. Epp 73, 130, 144, 256, 409, 427. See Colomesius's Vossii Epistolæ, Lond. 1690. fol. There is also a long and well-written Epistle from Rouse to Vossius, Ep. 352. *ibid.* ad calc. p. 241. Degory Wheare, the first Camden Professor, sends his Book *De Ratione et Methodo legendi Historias*, in 1625, to Rouse, with a Letter inscribed, "*Joanni Rousæo litteratissimo Academico meo.*" See Wheare Epistolarum Eucharisticarum Fasciculus, Oxon. 1628. 12mo. p. 113. Not only on account of his friendship with Milton, which appears to have subsisted in 1637, but because he retained his librarianship and fellowship through Cromwell's Usurpation, we may suppose Rouse to have been puritanically inclined. See Notes on Sir Henry Wotton's Letter prefixed to Comus, *supr.* p. 119. However, in 1647, he was expelled from his fellowship; but soon afterwards, making his peace with the Presbyterian Visitors, was restored. Walker's Suff. Cler. p. ii. p. 132. We are told also by Walker, that when the presbyterian officers proceeded to search and pillage Sir Thomas Bodley's chest in the library, they quitted their design, on being told what there was to be found there; "by Rouse the librarian, a *confiding brother.*" *Ibid.* p. i: p. 143.

Juvenilis olim,

5

Sedula tamen haud nimii poetæ ;

Wood says, that when Lord Pembroke, Cromwell's Chancellor of the University of Oxford, took his chair in the Convocation house, in 1648, scarcely any of the loyal members attended, but that Rouse was present. Hist. Ant. Univ. Oxon. i. 401. col. 2. See a visionary letter of Dionysia Fitzherbert, of Bristol, to Rouse, Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Which, I find, is printed in Ashmole's Berkshire, iii. 377. Probably Milton might become acquainted with Rouse, when he was incorporated a Master of Arts at Oxford in 1635. Neale says, the Assembly of Divines in 1645, recommended the new version of the Psalms by Mr. Rouse, to be used instead of Sternhold's, which was grown obsolete. Hist. Pur. vol. iii. 315. edit. 1736. But this was Francis Rouse originally of Broadgate Hall, Oxford, one of the Assembly of Divines, the presbyterian Provost of Eton College, and an active instrument in the Calvinistic visitation of Oxford, who was bred in Broadgate Hall, and at his death in 1657, became a liberal benefactor to Pembroke college.

Milton, at Rouse's request, had given his little volume of poems, printed in 1645, to the Bodleian library. But the book being lost, Rouse requested his friend Milton to send another copy. In 1646, another was sent by the author, neatly but plainly bound, *munditie nitens non operosa*, in which this ode to Rouse, in Milton's own hand-writing, on one sheet of paper, is inserted be-

tween the Latin and English Poems. It is the same now marked M. 168. Art. 8vo. In the same library, is another small volume, uniformly bound with that last mentioned, of a few of Milton's prose tracts, the first of which is of *Reformation touching Church Discipline*, printed for T. Underhill, 1641. 4to. Marked F. 56. Th. In the first blank leaf, in Milton's own hand-writing, is this inscription, never before printed. "Doctissimo viro pro-  
"hoque librorum æstimatori Jo-  
"hanni Rousio, Oxoniensis Aca-  
"demie Bibliothecario, gratum  
"sibi hoc fore testanti, Joannes  
"Miltonus opuscula hæc sua, in  
"Bibliothecam antiquissimam at-  
"que celeberrimam adsciscenda,  
"libens tradit: tanquam in me-  
"morie perpetue famam, eme-  
"ritamque, uti sperat, invidie  
"calumniæque vacationem, si  
"veritati bonoque simul eventui  
"satis sit litatum. Sunt autem  
"De Reformatione Angliæ, lib.  
"2.—De Episcopatu Prælatice,  
"lib. 1.—De ratione Politicæ Ec-  
"clesiasticæ, lib. 1.—Animad-  
"versiones in Remonstrantis De-  
"fensionem, lib. 1.—Apologia,  
"lib. 1.—Doctrina et disciplina  
"Divortii, lib. 2.—Judicium Bu-  
"ceri de Divortio, lib. 1.—Co-  
"lasterion, lib. 1.—Scripturæ lo-  
"ca de Divortio, instar lib. 4.—  
"Areopagitica, sive de libertate  
"Typographiæ oratio.—De E-  
"ducatione Ingenuorum episto-  
"la. [Tractate of Education to  
"Hartlib.] *Poemata Latina, et*  
"*Anglicana seorsim.*" About the  
year 1720, these two volumes,  
with other small books, were

Dum vagus Ausonias nunc per umbras,  
 Nunc Britannica per vireta lusi,  
 Insons populi, barbitoque devius  
 Indulsit patrio, mox itidem pectine Daunio 10  
 Longinquum intonuit melos  
 Vicinis, et humum vix tetigit pede :

## ANTISTROPHE.

Quis te, parve liber, quis te fratribus  
 Subduxit reliquis dolo ?  
 Cum tu missus ab urbe, 15  
 Docto jugiter obsecrante amico,  
 Illustre tendebas iter

hastily, perhaps contemptuously, thrown aside as duplicates, either real or pretended : and Mr. Nathaniel Crynes, an esquire beadle, and a diligent collector of scarce English books, was permitted, on the promise of some future valuable bequests to the library, to pick out of the heap what he pleased. But he, having luckily many more grains of party prejudice than of taste, could not think any thing worth having that bore the name of the republican Milton ; and therefore these two curiosities, which would be invaluable in a modern auction, were fortunately suffered to remain in the library, and were soon afterwards honourably restored to their original places.

1. *Gemelle cultu simplici gaudens liber,*

*Fronde licet gemina, &c.]*

By *Fronde gemina* we are to understand, metaphorically, the two-fold leaf, the Poems both English and Latin, of which the

volume consisted. So the Bodleian manuscript : and printed copies : but *fronde* is perhaps a better reading. This volume of Poems, 1645, has a double front or title-page ; both separate and detached from each other, the one, at the beginning, prefixed to the Latin, and the other, about the middle, to the English poems. Under either reading, the volume is *liber gemellus*, a double book, as consisting of two distinct parts, yet *cultu simplici*, under the form and appearance, the *habit*, of a single book.

9. *Insons populi,*] Guiltless as yet of engaging in the popular disputes of these turbulent times.

10. — *mox itidem pectine Daunio*] His Italian Sonnets.

16. *Docto jugiter obsecrante amico,*] Hence it appears, that Rouse had importuned Milton to give the volume that was lost to the library. I suppose it was presented immediately on its publication in 1645.



Thamesis ad incunabula  
 Cærulei patris,  
 Fontes ubi limpidi 20  
 Aonidum, thyasusque sacer  
 Orbi notus per immensos  
 Temporum lapsus redeunte cælo,  
 Celeberque futurus in ævum ?

## STROPHE 2.

Modo quis deus, aut editus deo, 25  
 Pristinam gentis miseratus indolem,  
 (Si satis noxas luimus priores,  
 Mollique luxu degener otium)  
 Tollat nefandos civium tumultus,  
 Almaque revocet studia sanctus, 30  
 Et relegatas sine sede Musas  
 Jam pene totis finibus Angligenum;  
 Immundasque volucres,  
 Unguibus imminentes,

18. *Thamesis ad incunabula*] The Thames, or Isis, rises not very many miles west of Oxford about Cricklade in Gloucestershire. Unless he means the junction of Tame and Isis, fancifully supposed to produce Thamesis, at Dorchester near Oxford.

29. *Tollat nefandos civium tumultus, &c.*] I fear Milton is here complaining of evils, which his own principles contributed either to produce or promote. But his illustrations are so beautiful, that we forget his politics in his poetry.

In reflecting, however, on those evils, I cannot entirely impute their origin to a growing spirit

of popular faction. If there was anarchy on one part, there was tyranny on the other: the dispute was a conflict "between governors who ruled by will not by law, and subjects who would not suffer the law itself to control their actions." Balguy's Sermons, p. 55.

33. *Immundasque volucres, &c.*] He has almost a similar allusion in the Reason of Church Government, &c. He compares prelacy to the python, and adds, "till like that fen-born serpent she be shot to death with the darts of the sun, the pure and powerful beams of God's word." Prose Works, i. 74.

Figat Apollinea pharetra,  
Phineamque abigat pestem procul amne Pegaseo ?

35

## ANTISTROPHE.

Quin tu, libelle, nuntii licet mala  
Fide, vel oscitantia,  
Semel erraveris agmine fratrum,  
Seu quis te teneat specus,  
Seu qua te latebra, forsan unde vili  
Callo tereris institoris insulsi,  
Lætare felix : en iterum tibi  
Spes nova fulget, posse profundam  
Fugere Lethen, vehique superam  
In Jovis aulam, remige penna :

40

45

## STROPHE. 3.

Nam te Rousius sui  
Optat peculi, numeroque justo  
Sibi pollicitum queritur abesse,  
Rogatque venias ille, cujus inclyta  
Sunt data virum monumenta curæ :  
Teque adytis etiam sacris  
Voluit reponi, quibus et ipse præsidet  
Æternorum operum custos fidelis ;  
Quæstorque gazæ nobilioris,

50

55

46. — *remige penna* : | See the note on a kindred allusion in *Paradise Lost*, "his sail-broad vans," b. ii. 927. See *Observat. Spenser's F. Q.* ii. 207. And note on v. 208. *Quint. Novembr.*

55. The paintings, statues, tapestry, tripods, and other inestimable furniture of Apollo's

temple at Delphi, are often poetically described in the *Ion*. See particularly, v. 185: seq. v. 1146. seq. Its images of gold are mentioned in the *Phœnissæ*, v. 228. The riches of the treasures of this celebrated shrine were proverbial even in the days of Homer, *Il. b. ix.* 404. All these

Quam cui præfuit Iön,  
 Clarus Erechtheides,  
 Opulenta dei per templa parentis,  
 Fulvosque tripodas, donaque Delphica,  
 Ion Actæa genitus Creusa,

60

## ANTISTROPHE.

Ergo, tu visere lucos  
 Musarum ibis amœnos ;  
 Diamque Phœbi rursus ibis in domum,  
 Oxonia quam valle colit,  
 Delo posthabita,  
 Bifidoque Parnassi jugo :  
 Ibis honestus,  
 Postquam egregiam tu quoque sortem  
 Nactus abis, dextri prece sollicitatus amici.  
 Illic legeris inter alta nomina

63

70

were offerings, *Ἀσάφιστα*, *Dona Delphica*, made by eminent personages who visited the temple. A curious Memoir has been written by Mons. Valois, *De richesses du Temple des Delphes, et des différents pillages qui en ont été faits*.

Milton was a reader of Euripides, not only with the taste of a poet, but with the minuteness of a Greek critic. His Euripides in two volumes, Paul Stephens's quarto edition, 1602, with many marginal emendations in his own hand, is now the property of Mr. Cradock, of Gumly in Leicestershire. From the library of the learned Bishop Hare, who died in 1740, it passed into the shop of John Whiston the bookseller; whence it was purchased by Doctor Birch, the publisher of Milton's Prose Works, April 12, 1754. Birch

left his library to the British Museum. It has Milton's name, with the price of the book, viz. 12s. 6d. Also the date 1634, (the year in which Comus was written,) all in his own hand. Some of the marginal notes have been adopted by Joshua Barnes, in his Euripides. Others have been lately printed by Mr. Jodrell. Milton's daughter Deborah, who used to read to him, related, that he was most delighted with Homer, whom he could almost entirely repeat; and next, with Ovid's Metamorphoses and Euripides. See note on the Nativitiy, v. 180.

56. *Quam cui præfuit Iön*, &c.] Ion the treasurer of the Delphic temple, abounding in riches. Euripides's tragedy of Ion evidently occasioned this allusion. Euripides calls Ion, *Χρυσοφυλάκα*, v. 54.

Authorum, Graiæ simul et Latinæ  
Antiqua gentis lumina, et verum decus.

## EPODOS.

Vos tandem haud vacui mei labores,  
Quicquid hoc sterile fudit ingenium,  
Jam sero placidam sperare jubeo 75  
Perfunctam invidia requiem, sedesque beatas,  
Quas bonus Hermes,  
Et tutela dabit solers Rousi;  
Quo neque lingua procax vulgi penetrabit, atque longe  
Turba legentum prava facesset : 80  
At ultimi nepotes,  
Et cordatior ætas,  
Judicia rebus æquiora forsitan  
Adhibebit, integro simi.  
Tam, livore sepulto, 85  
Si quid meremur sana posteritas sciet,  
Rousio favente.

*Ode tribus constat Strophis, totidemque Antistrophis, una demum Epodo clausis, quas tametsi omnes nec verum numero, nec certis ubique colis exacte respondeant, ita tamen secuimus, commode legendi potius, quam ad antiquos concinendi modos rationem spectantes. Alioquin hoc genus rectius fortasse dici monostrophicum debuerat. Metra partim sunt κατὰ σχῆμα, partim ἀπολαυμένα. Phalencia quæ sunt, Spondaicum tertio loco bis admittunt, quod idem in secundo loco Catillus ad libitum fecit.*

78. If he meant this verse for an hendecasyllable, there is a false quantity in *solers*. The first syllable is notoriously long.

78. See a long and learned criticism upon the measures of this Ode in note (r), Symmons's

Life of Milton, p. 281—284. ed. 2d. E.

86. The reader will recollect, that this Ode was written and sent in 1646. Milton here alludes to the severe censures which he had lately suffered, not only from

the episcopal but even from the presbyterian party. About the year 1641, our author, well knowing how much the puritans wanted the assistance of abilities and learning, attacked the order of bishops and the intire constitution of the Church of England, in three or four large and laboured treatises. One of these, his Reply to Bishop Hall's Remonstrance, was answered the same year by an anonymous antagonist, supposed to be the bishop's son; who calls Milton a blasphemer, a drunkard, a profane swearer, and a frequenter of brothels, asserting at the same time, that he was expelled the University of Cambridge for a perpetual course of riot and debauchery. About the year 1644, Milton published his tracts on Divorce. Here he quarrelled with his own friends. These pieces were instantly anathematized by the thunder of the presbyterian clergy, from the pulpit, the press, and the tribunal of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. By the leaders of that persuasion, who were now predominant, and who began in their turn to find that novelties were dangerous, he was even summoned before the House of Lords. It is in reference to the rough and perhaps undeserved treatment which he received, in consequence of the publication of these dissertations in defence of domestic liberty, that he complains in his twelfth Sonnet.

I did but prompt the age to quit their  
clays  
By the known rules of ancient  
liberty,  
When strait a barbarous noise en-  
circles me  
Of owls and cuckoos, asses, apes,  
and dogs, &c.

And the preceding Sonnet on the same subject is thus entitled, "On the Detraction which followed upon my writing certain Treatises."

But these were only the beginnings of obloquy. He was again to appeal to posterity for indulgence. *Evil Tongues*, together with many *Evil Days*, were still in reserve. The commonwealth was to be disannulled, and monarchy to be restored. The Defence of the King's Murder was not yet burnt by the common hangman. In the year 1676, his official Latin Letters were printed. In the Preface, the editor says of the author, "Est forsitan dignissimus  
"qui ab omnibus legeretur Mil-  
"tonus, nisi styli sui facundiam  
"et puritatem turpissimis moribus  
"inquinasset." Winstanly thus characterises our author. "He  
"is one whose natural parts  
"might deservedly give him  
"a place among the principal of  
"our English poets.—But his  
"fame is gone out like a candle  
"in a snuff, and his memory  
"will always stink, which might  
"have ever lived in honourable  
"repute, had he not been a  
"notorious traytor, &c." *Lives of the Poets*, p. 175. edit. 1687.

I mention these descriptions of Milton, among many others of a like kind which appeared soon after his death, because they probably contain the tone of the public opinion, and seem to represent the general and established estimation of his character at that time; and as they are here delivered dispassionately, and not thrown out in the heat of controversy and calumniation.

Upon the whole, and with

regard to his political writing at large, even after the prejudices of party have subsided, Milton, I believe, has found no great share of favour, of applause, or even of candour, from distant generations. His *Si quid meremur*, in the sense here belonging to the words, has been too fully ascertained by the mature determination of time. Toland, about thirty years after the Restoration, thought Milton's Prose Works of sufficient excellence and importance to be collected and printed in one body. But they were neglected and soon forgotten. Of late years, some attempts have been made to revive them, with as little success. At present, they are almost unknown. If they are ever inspected, it is perhaps occasionally by the commentator on Milton's verse as affording materials for comparative criticism, or from motives of curiosity only as the productions of the writer of *Comus* and *Paradise Lost*, and not so much for any independent value of their own. In point of doctrine, they are calculated to annihilate the very foundations of our civil and religious establishment, as it now subsists: they are subversive of our legislature, and our species of government. In condemning tyranny, he strikes at the bare existence of kings; in combating superstition, he decries all public religion. These discourses hold forth a system of politics, at present as unconstitutional, and almost as obsolete, as the nonsense of passive obedience: and in this view, we might just as well think of republishing the pernicious theories of the kingly bigot James, as

of the republican usurper Oliver Cromwell. Their style is perplexed, pedantic, poetical, and unnatural: abounding in enthusiastic effusions, which have been mistaken for eloquence and imagination. In the midst of the most solemn rhapsodies, which would have shone in a fast-sermon before Cromwell, he sometimes indulges a vein of jocularity; but his witticisms are as awkward as they are unsuitable, and Milton never more misunderstands the nature and bias of his genius, than when he affects to be arch either in prose or verse. His want of deference to superiors teaches him to write without good manners: and when we consider his familiar acquaintance with the elegancies of antiquity, with the orators and historians of Greece and Rome, few writers will be found to have made so slender a sacrifice to the Graces. From some of these strictures, I must except the *Tractate on Education*, and the *Areopagitica*, which are written with a tolerable degree of facility, simplicity, purity, and perspicuity; and the latter, some tedious historical digressions, and some little sophistry excepted, is the most close, conclusive comprehensive, and decisive vindication of the liberty of the press that has yet appeared, on a subject on which it is difficult to decide, between the licentiousness of scepticism and sedition, and the arbitrary exertions of authority. In the mean time, Milton's Prose Works, I suspect, were never popular: he deeply engaged in most of the ecclesiastical disputes of his times, yet he is seldom quoted or mentioned by his contempora-

ries, either of the presbyterian or independent persuasion: even by Richard Baxter, pastor of Kidderminster, a judicious and voluminous advocate on the side of the presbyterians, who vehemently censures and opposes several of his coadjutors in the cause of church-independency, he is passed over in profound silence. For his brethren the independents he seems to have been too learned and unintelligible. In 1652, Sir Robert Filmer, in a general attack on the recent antimonarchical writers, bestows but a very short and slight refutation on his politics. It appears from the Censure of the Rota, a pamphlet published in 1660, said to be fabricated by Harrington's club, that even his brother party-writers ridiculed the affectations and absurdities of his style. [Oldys attributes this pamphlet to Harrington, in his Catalogue of the pamphlets in the Harleian Library.] Lord Monboddo is the only modern critic of note, who ranks Milton as a prose-writer with Hooker, Sprat, and Clarendon.

I have hitherto been speaking of Milton's Prose Works in English. I cannot allow, that his Latin performances in prose are formed on any one chaste Roman model. They consist of a modern factitious mode of Latinity, a compound of phraseology gleaned from a general imitation of various styles, commodious enough for the author's purpose. His *Defensio pro populo Anglicano* against Salmasius, so liberally rewarded by the presbyterian administration, the best apology that ever was offered for bringing kings to the block,

and which diffused his reputation all over Europe, is remembered no more.

Doctor Birch observes of this prophetic hope in the text, that "the universal admiration with which his works are read, justifies what he himself says in his Ode to Rouse." Life, p. lxiii. But this hope, as we have seen, our author here restricts to his political speculations, to his works on civil and religious subjects, which are still in expectation of a reversionary fame, and still await the partial suffrages of a *sana posteritas*, and a *cordator ætas*. The flattering anticipation of more propitious times, and more equitable judges, at some remote period, would have been justly applicable to his other works; for in those, and those only, it has been amply and conspicuously verified. It is from the *ultimi nepotes* that justice has been done to the genuine claims of his poetical character. Nor does any thing, indeed, more strongly mark the improved critical discernment of the present age, than that it has atoned for the contemptible taste, the blindness and the neglect, of the last, in recovering and exalting the poetry of Milton to its due degree of cultivation and esteem: and we may safely prognosticate, that the posterities are yet unborn, which will bear testimony to the beauties of his calmer imagery, and the magnificence of his more sublime descriptions, to the dignity of his sentiments, and the vigour of his language. Undoubtedly the *Paradise Lost* had always its readers, and perhaps more numerous and devoted admirers even at the infancy of its publication, than our biogra-

phers have commonly supposed. Yet, in its silent progression, even after it had been recommended by the popular papers of Addison, and had acquired the distinction of an English classic, many years elapsed before any symptoms appeared, that it had influenced the national taste, or that it had wrought a change in our versification, and our modes of poetical thinking. The remark might be still farther extended, and more forcibly directed and brought home, to the pieces which compose the present volume.

Among other proofs of our reverence for Milton, we have seen a monument given to his memory in Westminster Abbey. But this splendid memorial did not appear, till we had overlooked the author of *Reformation in England*, and the *Defensio*: in other words, till our rising regard for Milton the poet had taught us to forget Milton the politician. Not long before, about the year 1710, when Atterbury's inscription for the monument of John Philips, in which he was said to be *soli Miltono secundus*, was shewn to Doctor Sprat then Dean of Westminster, he refused it admittance into the church; the name of Milton as Doctor Johnson observes, who first relates this anecdote, "being

"in his opinion, too detestable  
"to be read on the wall of a  
"building dedicated to devo-  
"tion." Yet when more enlarged principles had taken place, and his bust was erected where once his name had been deemed a profanation, Doctor George, Provost of King's College, Cambridge, who was solicited for an epitaph on the occasion, forbearing to draw his topics of reconciliation from a better source, thought it expedient to apologize for the reception of the monument of Milton the republican into that venerable repository of kings and prelates, in the following hexameters; which recal our attention to the text, and on account of their spirited simplicity, and nervous elegance, deserve to be brought forward, and to be more universally circulated.

Augusti regum cineres, sanctæque  
favillæ  
Heroum, vosque O, venerandi no-  
minis, umbræ!  
Parcite, quod vestris, infensum regi-  
bus olim,  
Sedibus infertur nomen; liceatque  
supremis  
Funeribus finire odia, et mors obruat  
iras.  
Nunc sub fœderibus coeant fœlicibus,  
una  
Libertas, et jus sacri inviolabile ac-  
cepti.  
Rege sub Augusto fas sit laudare  
Catonem.



## AN INDEX

OF THE LESS COMMON WORDS OCCASIONALLY EXPLAINED AND  
ILLUSTRATED IN THE NOTES.

*P. R.* stands for *Paradise Regained*, *S. A.* *Samson Agonistes*, *P.* *Poems*, and *S.* *Sonnets*.  
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